FBIS DAILY REPORT

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POLAND: 28 OCT STRIKE 'NEW TERROR ACT'

Losses From Strike

AU031249 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 30 Oct 81 p 5

[Tsveta Stefanova article: "The Main Task -- Defense of the Socialist Ideals"]

[Text] From September 1980 to September 1981 the **reserves of industrial goods of the Polish** People's Republic have deteriorated by one third. One could also add half a billion zloty to this sad balance. According to the economists, this is the price of the 1-hour general strike. Despite the fact that many industrial plants did not join the strike Wednesday, and many of the working collectives' members defended their right to work, the disturbed Polish economy suffered its new endurance test. Tens of thousands of clothes, textile goods, shoes, sanitary goods, as well as hundreds of tons of superphosphates were not produced. Millions of pairs of socks, for which kilometer-long cues lined up at the betinning of the winter season in front of the half-empty stores, will not be delivered to the stores. This is the sad balance of the 1-hour general strike, organized and publicized on Wednesday by the Solidarity National Commission.

Jan Kolpak, a worker at the "Warsaw" metallurgic combine, said on the day of this new terror act of the extremist forces in the Solidarity trade union: "I decisively oppose the strikes. They hit us in the pocket even when we 'legally' receive money for the time we have not worked." Mieczyslaw Szlachta from the (Zberese) village in the Helm voivodship said: "The worst, in my opinion, is the instigation of social tension, to which every new strike leads. In such a situation it is difficult to even dream about overcoming the crisis." Zenon Dziadowicz, a worker, said: "The worst is that at this moment, I personally see no chances for understanding, and share the opinion that if we want something, we simply must honestly work for it."

Those are voices from various parts of the country. They are being joined by tens of appeals of protest from all social trade union and youth organizations, which found the force to say "no" to the strike, which is a regular attempt to evoke a dangerous confrontation and testing of forces.

Lech Walesa, leader of the Solidarity trade union, has temporarily put on the cloak of a "moderate" leader, has decided that now is the time to take down the masks, and declared at a meeting of strikers at the (Zirarduwka) city, whose strike has already cost the nation 550 million zloty: "We must finally reveal the concepts discussed with various institutions outside Poland...." Afterwards he announced the creation of Solidarity territorial operational groups. He also spoke about the unnecessary fear of evoking conflicts, which are to be "taken with humor...."

What is he talking about? The answer has already been given by the meetings of the Solidarity first congress, while the new strike was organized according to the old script -- to apply pressure on the forthcoming meetings of the Polish Sejm and to instigate public dissatisfaction during the PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The goal is to stick to the old slogan: "The worse it is -- the better it is," leading toward taking over the government in the country. This is how the Solidarity leaders, who are now debating in Gdansk, design their plans.

The PZPR Central Committee Plenum stressed that the new warning strike, organized by Solidarity, has turned into a warning signal for millions of Polish citizens. This destructive action for the country overtly demonstrated the real strivings of the skillful organizers of the countless protests, accompanied by various slogans and demagogic evaluations wrapped in patriotic concepts. Therefore, the plenum has stressed that all party figures and regular members and organizations have now no more important task than to continue the struggle for defending the socialist ideals and faith in the correctness and the final victory of the party cause. This is socialist Poland's duty.

'Disgusting Slanders'

AU041225 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian carries on page 5 a 400-word BTA correspondent's report from Warsaw on the continuation of strikes in Poland, organized by the "Solidarity" trade union, "despite the appeals of the Sejm and the government" to stop the strikes. The BTA correspondent's report further describes the activities of local "Solidarity" leaders in "supporting provocations" such as the strike in the "Sosnowiec" mine, where "vials with poisonous substances" were found at the entrance. The BTA correspondent's report also describes the statements by "Solidarity" leading functionary Marian Jurczyk, who is cited "addressing disgusting slanders and threats against the present Polish leaders and submitting a detailed plan on how 'Solidarity' should seize power," adding that "thousands of letters from various organizations and individuals are reaching the PZPR Central Committee and the government, as well as the radio and television, asking that Jurczyk be sued for his arrogant statements leading to exacerbation of tension in the country." After citing further protests voiced by Sejm deputies and newspapers against Jurczyk, the BTA correspondent closes his report with the statement "that the prosecutor's office in Szczecin has already begun an investigation against Marian Jurczyk."

MORE ON JOINT ECONOMIC TALKS WITH CUBA

Filipov Receives Bravo

AU042044 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] On 4 November Comrade Grisha Filipov received Flavio Bravo, deputy chairman of the Cuban Council of Ministers. A broad range of concrete issues related to the bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation were reviewed. The results hitherto achieved have been highly evaluated and the significance of the long-range cooperation as one of the important means of further dynamically developing the bilateral economic relations was stressed.

Session Ends 4 Nov

AU042040 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] On 4 November the 15th session of the Bulgarian-Cuban Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation ended. A protocol on the session was signed by Andrey Lukanov and Flavio Bravo, deputy chairmen of the two countries' Councils of Ministers and chairmen of the commission.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ANTIGUA PROPOSED

AU031444 Sofia BTA in English 1320 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Sofia, 3 Nov (BTA) -- The chairman of the Ministerial Council, Mr Grisha Filipov, has sent a telegram to the prime minister of Antigua, Mr Vere Bird, which reads in part:

"The Government of Bulgaria, guided by the principles of equality and mutual respect for the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the non-interference in internal affairs, declares that it recognizes the independent and sovereign state of Antigua and expresses readiness to establish diplomatic relations with it".

DOYNOV GREETS INTERNATIONAL ARCHITECTS' CONGRESS

AU041515 Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Excerpt] Sofia, 4 Nov (BTA) -- The 5th Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Architects opened here today. In the course of two days more than 600 delegates will discuss their achievements in this sphere and will outline new targets and tasks in the development of Bulgarian architecture. Representatives of kindered organizations from the GDR, Greece, Cuba, Cyprus, Poland, Romania, the USSR and Hungary are attending the congress as guests.

The participants in the congress were greeted by Mr Ognyan Doynov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, on behalf of the CC of the BCP and personally from Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP.

MORE STATE ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS NOTED

Greetings From CSSR Leaders

AU041119 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, have received the following telegram from Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee secretary general and CSSR president, and from Lubomir Strougal, premier of the CSSR Government:

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the glorious jubilee -- the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state -- we convey to the BCP Central Committee, to the State Council and to the entire Bulgarian people ardent, comradely greetings and sincere best wishes on the occasion of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Government and the entire people of the CSSR.

The Bulgarian people's path leading toward the present-day socialist society has been long and full of adversities. Periods of peace and prosperity have been followed by periods of stagnation and decline, connected with humiliations, tyranny and slavery, the most cruel of which was the period of the Ottoman oppression.

The Bulgarian people honorably resisted these trials of history. They preserved their national existence, the existence of their language, literacy and culture. With the assistance of the fraternal Russian people, the Bulgarians achieved their national liberation.

Our people remember with respect the heroes of the Bulgarian People's national liberation struggles -- men such as G.S. Rakovski, Vasil Levski, Khristo Botev, as well as the remarkable revolutionaries, the founders of the Marxist-Leninist party -- and in the recent stage of your country's revolutionary movement we remember Dimitur Blagoev, Georgi Kirkov and Gavril Georgiev. The first armed conflict between the Bulgarian communists and all people against the advancing fascism in September 1923 will remain unforgettable. At that time the BCP appeared as the continuer of the most valuable traditions of the past and headed the struggle of the workers class for its rights. The victorious struggle against fascism and capitalism is linked to the name of the remarkable representative of the international communist and workers movement -- Georgi Dimitrov.

After implementing the socialist revolution, under the leadership of their communist party, the Bulgarian people entered a new stage in their history -- the stage of socialist construction. In close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the Bulgarian people transformed their motherland into a prosperous state with a developed industry and agriculture, doing so within a short historical period.

We sincerely rejoice at the remarkable successes achieved by socialist Bulgaria, as well as at its growing international prestige. We particularly appreciate Bulgaria's participation in consolidating and rallying the countries of the socialist community and the international communist and workers movement.

Our two countries are closely linked by their traditional friendship whose roots can be traced back to the very beginning of our two peoples' national histories.

This friendship was consolidated in our peoples' struggles for freedom and independence, in the revolutionary struggles of the workers class against exploiters, in the cooperation of Czechoslovak and Bulgarian communists and of all working people in building their socialist present. We are proud of the fact that the unforgettable sons of our two peoples -- Klement Gottwald and Georgi Dimitrov -- marked the beginning of the contemporary history of our fraternal cooperation in 1948 when they signed the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty which laid down solid foundations for Czechoslovak-Bulgarian relations. These mutual relations rely upon the ever intensifying fraternal cooperation between our two communist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The aspirations of our people toward happiness, which were expressed at the recent CPCZ and BCP congresses, are indissolubly linked to the struggle for the consolidation of peace and for detente. The CSSR people, together with the Bulgarian people and the peoples of the other socialist countries, together with the democratic and progressive forces throughout the world, resolutely support the Soviet Union in its noble struggle for the elimination of the danger of a new world war, for peace and understanding among peoples, for the victory of socialism and for progress.

We wish you, dear comrades, Bulgarian communists and the entire Bulgarian people new successes in implementing the tasks involving great responsibility in building a developed socialist society, the tasks laid down by the 12th BCP Congress.

Hungarian Leaders' Greetings

AU031346 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, has received the following telegram from Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee and from Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Dear Comrade Zhivkov, on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, on behalf of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic and on behalf of the Hungarian people, we are expressing friendly greetings and sincere wishes to the BCP Central Committee, to the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and to all Bulgarian people on the occasion of a remarkable event in their history -- the 1,300 anniversary of the existence of the Bulgarian state.

Every citizen in the People's Republic of Bulgaria can be proud of his country's historical achievements within the 1,300 years of its existence, of the struggles waged for the sake of freedom, independence and social progress, of the successes marked in the economic and social sector, of the progress achieved in cultural development.

The Bulgarian people, who have great historical traditions and a glorious past, are now working under the leadership of the BCP, which has inherited and still pursues the traditions of Georgi Dimitrov and is following the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for the construction of a developed socialist society, for the implementation of the decisions adopted by the 12th BCP Congress. Our people greet the results of these persevering efforts with sincere respect and admiration.

On the occasion of this remarkable anniversary we wish the Bulgarian people further successes in building a prosperous People's Republic of Bulgaria and in consolidating the fraternal friendship between our two parties and peoples.

Mongolian Leaders' Greetings

AU041127 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 81 p 2

[Text] The State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria have received the following telegram from the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic and from the Mongolian Council of Ministers:

On behalf of the Mongolian people, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural and the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic convey to the State Council, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and to all fraternal Bulgarian people the most sincere congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of the remarkable event -- the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state.

In its centuries-old history Bulgaria has covered a long path of development during which the courageous Bulgarian peopls have succeeded in defending their state in the struggle against foreign oppression, in defeating the regime of exploiters and the fascist dictatorship, and in implementing tneir aspirations for freedom, national independence and social progress.

The victory of the socialist revolution on the ancient Bulgarian soil, which was achieved 37 years ago under the leadership of the BCP and with the decisive help of the legendary Soviet Army, justifiably became the brilliant climax in the Bulgarian people's historical struggle for a happy life; it became a turning point in the Bulgarian people's fate throughout the entire 13-centuries old existence of the Bulgarian state.

The assertion of the socialist system in Bulgaria brought about the implementation of the Bulgarian people's centuries-old dreams and aspirations for a happy and free life, for peace and friendship with other peoples in the world.

Present-day Bulgaria has a worthy place in the socialist community and in the world. With its principled, peaceloving and energetic foreign political activities, Bulgaria is worthily contributing to the consolidation of the unity and power of the worldwide socialist community, to the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

We note with great satisfaction that the fraternal relations of friendship and cooperation existing between the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the BCP, between the Mongolian People's Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, based on the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are unrelentingly developing from year to year in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism.

The Presidium of the People's Great Hural and the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic convey sincere wishes to the State Council, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and all Bulgarian people for great, new successes in building a developed socialist society under the auspices of the decisions adopted by the historical 12th BCP Congress, in the common struggle for peace and security.

Long live the indestructible friendship between the peoples of the Mongolian People's Republic and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

JOURNALISTS' CONGRESS OPENS IN SOFIA 30 OCT

AU301101 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Summary from poor reception] The congress of Bulgarian Journalists opened this morning at the Georgi Kirkov Hall of the Sofia Party House.

Attending the opening session are Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Georgi Yordanov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Milko Balev and Georgi Atanasov; George Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council; Lalyu Dimitrov, head of the BPC Central Committee Department on Mass Media and Georgi Tanev, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, are also among those present at the congress.

Veselin Yosifov, chairman of the Bulgarian Journalists Union made a statement on the report of the Executive Council of the Union, which was distributed in advance to the delegates.

Yosifov enumerated the four most important tasks of mass media and journalists, namely, to ensure the ideological and professional training of journalists, according to the demands of the BCP, to defend the interests and prestige of the Bulgarian journalists, to promote the country's peaceful policy in the international activities of mass media and to propagate the advantages of real socialism, as well as accomplish tasks in the organizational field of the Journalists Union.

Yosifov also stressed the task of promoting the party's April line and to innovating the material and intellectual development of socialist Bulgaria.

The statement was followed by debates on the main report. The congress continues.

ZHIVKOV OBSERVES NATIONAL JOURNALISM DAY

AU312005 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 31 Oct 81

[Text] On tne occasion of the day of Bulgarian journalism, 1 November, a meeting of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat and journalists of the press, radio, television and the news agencies was held at the Boyana Residence. Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, who was welcomed with particular cordiality, was also present. Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Ognyan Doynov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Lalyu Dimitrov, chief of the Mass Information Media Department at the BCP Central Committee, also attended the meeting.

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat, and on his own behalf, Comrade Todor Zhivkov conveyed cordial greetings to those present and to all workers involved in the mass information media for the fruitful work performed by the Sixth Bulgarian Journalists Congress as well as on the day of Bulgarian journalism. He wished them further greater creative successes in their highly responsible work for building a developed socialist society. The first leader of the party and state spoke on certain basic problems of the socioeconomic development of the country and stressed the need for mobilizing all forces to implement the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov also touched on topical problems of the international situation. His speech was heard with particular attention and given stormy prolonged applause.

The chairman of the Bulgarian Journalists Union expressed cordial gratitude to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and assured the first leader of the party and state that the Bulgarian journalists will continue to work even more selflessly to fulfill the responsible tasks posed them by the party.

CPCZ DELEGATION RETURNS FROM MOSCOW CONFERENCE

LD042338 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2250 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Jan Fojtik and Josef Havlin, secretaries of the party Central Committee, returned from Moscow to Czechoslovakia this evening. In Moscow they attended the conference of the secretaries of the central committees of fraternal parties of socialist countries on ideological and international issues.

POLISH DEVELOPMENTS ANALYZED, CRITICIZED

West's 'Psychological Warfare'

LD031836 Prague International Service in English 1630 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Excerpts] NATO is speculating with a substantial weakening of the Warsaw Treaty countries' political, economic and military strength in connection with the situation in Poland. Commenting on this, a Radio Prague news analyst says that attempts to liquidate the socialist system in Poland are part of the broadly-based plan of the Atlantic strategists to change the balance of forces in Europe. Poland has become target number one in the frantic psychological war against the socialist countries.

The Voice of America, the BBC, Deutsche Welle, besides the Munich-based and CIA-controlled subversive radio station Free Europe beam a total of 30 hours of programs to Poland every day. Regardless of the various tones of propaganda employed by these stations, all of them in one way or another denigrate the postwar successes of People's Poland and the PZPR and harp on the common note of Polish nationalism and anti-Sovietism. Meanwhile, the Munich-based Radio Free Europe is not only an instrument of hostile propaganda directed at Poland, but at the same time a direct prompter of the political wing of the Solidarity leadership. The aim of its advice is to destabilize the situation in Poland still further, to undermine the position of socialism in that country and to complicate Poland's relations with the Soviet Union, and naturally, to gain from all this suitable advantages for NATO's military-political plans in Europe, at the very time when Washington has earmarked this continent as a nuclear battlefield. This fact was emphasized by the Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, in his interview for the Hamburg magazine DER SPIEGEL.

The Soviet leader's clearcut answer takes the wind out of various provocative speculations in the West. It also casts the correct light on Soviet-Polish relations, which have been the subject of many construed speculations and unfounded contentions on the part of the enemies of relaxation in the West, and their proteges in Poland, the political extremists within Solidarity itself.

Reaction to 'Strike Lunacy'

AU031334 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Nov 81 p 6

[Article by Warsaw correspondents Jan Lipavsky and Pavol Minarik: "Criticism of 'Strike Lunacy'; Two Days in the Polish Sejm"]

[Text] From the journalists' box in the Polish Sejm one can observe very well the reactions to the deputies' statements on Wojciech Jaruzelski's report. They respond to his criticism of the "strike lunacy" with applause, but not all of them. Deputy R. Bukowski, for example, defends "Solidarity." He says that strikes in a situation in which "Solidarity" refuses to take part in decisions about the country's fate are a dramatic expression of its forced participation. Many deputies respond with obvious discomfort to this assertion. The leaders of "Solidarity" have been refusing to "take part" for months. The government and the organs of people's power are an "unacceptable partner" for them...

At certain moments one gets the impression that an atmosphere for rejecting the proposed resolution -- the Sejm's appeal to suspend strikes -- is emerging. On the other hand, after the statements by some deputies, the response indicates that a law banning strikes might pass. Yet suddenly a representative of the Catholic circles takes the floor and declares that such a law "cannot eliminate strikes." He calls a "crisis of confidence in the government" the main reason for the current situation and thus also for the strikes...

Not everyone shares his view. Deputy J. Labus calls the strikes staged by "Solidarity" an artificial source of tension in the country that is directed against initiatives by the organs of people's power. The Sejm must use all its authority to give support to General Jaruzelski's government in its endeavor to overcome the crisis, says the deputy, Labus. The government of the Polish People's Republic must be provided with the necessary jurisdiction to enforce calm and order in the country.

Several deputies demand firm, energetic action by the government against everyone who sows anarchy and licentiousness in Poland, against those who drive people into senseless, suicidal strikes and attack the constitutional organs of people's power. Serving as an example of such conduct is Marian Jurczyk, one of the "Solidarity" leaders, who at a "Solidarity" aktiv in Trzebiatow called the deputies to the Sejm and the Government of the Polish People's Republic "traitors to Polish society." He spat on Polish-Soviet ties of alliance, said that the USSR is Poland's "artificial" friend, grossly insulted General Jaruzelski and members of his government, "ruled out" the existence of the party in the enterprises, and warned that "Solidarity" is already setting up its TRIBUNAL [capitalized word published in wide-spaced type] that will allegedly "try" its adversaries, mainly communists, and will "hang" them.

We saw and heard what an enormous outrage this "statement" by the "Solidarity" leader evoked among the deputies. One deputy took the floor and called Jurczyk's counterrevolutionary speech "an insult to the people and the state and an open challenge to the Polish People's Republic's supreme legislative body and the government."

During an intermission of the Sejm session, we asked M. Rakowski -- deputy to the Sejm and deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, whom general Jaruzelski entrusted with political, social and trade union affairs -- how will the government respond to this challenge?

"It is the duty of the appropriate bodies of the Polish People's Republic to assume an unequivocal position on this case," said M. Rakowski. "What I have in mind is the prosecutor's office."

"Does this mean that the enactment of laws will now expand so as to include leading 'Solidarity' functionaries who commit evidently unlawful acts."

"Of course, these people must know that they do not stand aloof from the law and that everyone who would attempt it must be called to account."

"What will be the government's first steps if the Sejm adopts a law banning strikes?"

"What is involved is not a law yet but a resolution of the Sejm calling for an end to strikes. However, the draft of a law that would ban strikes has already been submitted to the Presidium of the Sejm. Should the resolution of the supreme legislative body not yield the desirable results..."

"When could the adoption of this law become pressing?"

"It is hard to say, but it will be us who will determine the time and who will turn to the Sejm with the motion that this law be adopted. This can be in a week's time or in 10 days but I think the appeal will yield the desirable results..."

"Why, then, does the Sejm adopt only this resolution for the time being?"

"It is necessary to make use of all available means so that we cannot be reproached for having acted with undue haste and nervousness. We must make use of all political means to convince 'Solidarity's' extremist wing -- to be explicit, the enemies of socialism -- but it will be free of rotten compromise..."

"You want to convince the enemies of socialism? You yourself have said that you are in a situation in which words no longer suffice."

"Indeed, many words have already been said in Poland but no one in Poland should think that words are our weakness because one day they will convince themselves that this is not the case."

We said thank you for the interview and returned to the journalists' box. The Sejm was adopting the resolution, an appeal to suspend strikes in the country. Deputy K. Malcuzynski took the floor and demanded that the resolution should include an "expression of thanks" to the "Solidarity" National Commission for its appeal of Thursday 29 October to suspend strikes for a certain period of time.

How strange, we thought. The leaders of "Solidarity," including Walesa, sully the constitutional organs of the Polish People's Republic, conduct subversive activities against them, and some of them -- Mr Jurczyk, for example, or Mr Rulewski or Mr Rozplochowski and others, all of them members of the "Solidarity" leadership -- make no secret of their plans to overthrow them, and here, on the premises of the Sejm, there is a deputy who demands that they should be "thanked"....

Deputy Malcuzynski's proposal elicited a discussion and reservations. It took some time before the Sejm agreed that it is, despite everything, necessary to "express thanks" to "Solidarity" and "all those who oppose ruinous strike activity"...

On 30 October newspapers wrote that strikes were continuing on a considerable part of Poland's territory. Radio and television reports on Sunday confirmed this. That means that the "Solidarity" appeal somehow did not "catch on," nor was it or is it designed to "catch on" because it is nothing but a trick played on the Polish public, the government and the Sejm.

Strike Danger Continues

AU021441 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Oct 81 p 7

[Commentary by RUDE PRAVO Warsaw correspondents Jan Lipavsky and Pavol Minarik: "The Danger Continues"]

[Text] The so-called general strike has become "Solidarity's" latest political confrontation with people's power in Poland, and -- objectively -- it also had the character of overt sabotage of the endeavors to find a way out of the crisis. The strike totality, as it was called by Wojciech Jaruzelski, has become a reality. True, "Solidarity's" Wednesday action was not as successful as its leaders would have wished. According to a preliminary assessment, from the 45 voivodships with 7 million people employed, only 2 million went on strike.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that with the strike "Solidarity" leaders succeeded in palpably affecting especially the large industrial agglomerates -- the most sensitive and most important sectors of the national economy. The cause for the strike was allegedly unfulfilled demands, submitted by "Solidarity" to the government. It is said that the establishment of a so-called social economic council is demanded, which would control the Sejm and the government. Further, the Polish judicial and security bodies are to pardon those who have made themselves subject to punishment for desecrating Soviet soldiers' memorials, who have been committing punishable offenses against the state, slandering state representatives and the bonds of alliance of the Polish People's Republic and so forth. Last but not least, "Solidarity" demands that the supplies to the population be improved, although it itself is constantly keeping the working people away from their work and has recommended that farmers sabotage deliveries to the cities.

All this was only a pretext for calling the general strike. What was the true intention? Bringing about another confrontation of strength with the constitutional agencies in the struggle to change the character of power in the Polish People's Republic.

Unfortunately, the organizers of this political confrontation had enough scope for it. From the information that of the 7 million only 2 million went on strike, one still cannot conclude that the immediate counterrevolutionary danger has passed. The truth is that "Solidarity" has infiltrated various state and political agencies and organizations and is gradually shifting the focal point of its subversive activity from enterprises precisely there. From this, obviously, also stems L. Walesa's self-confident assertion about the "unnecessary concern" about conflicts between "Solidarity" and various state and political agencies.

Thus if the "Solidarity" leadership has its sympathizers [papenheimske] posted in various parts of the state apparatus, its leader can afford to assert that "we do not need to overthrow this government." It is, actually, enough to paralyze its activity, to push it away from the real execution of power and place that "social economic council" over it. This is the core of this concept of the struggle for power. It involves a concept about which Walesa recently said that "Solidarity" leaders had had consultations with abroad about it; that is, to put it more accurately, it is a concept blessed by anticommunist centers in the West.

Should the government not accept "Solidarity's" demands, should it not fulfill them and should it not subordinate itself to the will of this organization, then -- allegedly -- other solutions will be found, Walesa has now stated, meaning that "Solidarity" is not abandoning strikes. Protest, alert, warning and other strikes continue, because the tension in the country must be maintained at any price. And a reason for it can also be the lack of faith in a director, as evidenced by the case of the director of the state farm in Lubogora in the Zielena Gora district, where this artificially trumped up reason drove the whole voivodship into a strike which has been going on since 14 October.

There is no doubt that what is involved is the escalation of terror. That was also clear from the declaration of Piotr Kuczynski, a functionary of Warsaw "Solidarity," made immediately following the general strike to UPI and in which he threatened the Polish Government with "civil war" should it not give in to the aforementioned demands.

The losses caused by the strike wave in October alone are immense. It affects the value of goods destined for the domestic market and for export, amounting to dozens of billions of zlotys. And on top of all this, the "Solidarity" leadership insolently demands that full wages be paid from the state treasury to the strikers for the days they were striking! Thus "Solidarity's" ruining the national economy is the general practice and the objective.

With a certain hope for a reversal in the ongoing dangerous developments, all honest Polish people are waiting for the 30 October Sejm session, which should -- as K. Barcikowski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee said -- take a position on the strikes. But they are waiting for more. They are hoping that the supreme representative agency of the Polish People's Republic will take resolute steps, which the Fourth and Fifth CPCZ Central Committee Plenums signaled, steps against all who are sowing anarchy and carrying out counterrevolutionary activity.

PZPR Official Views Solidarity

AU021308 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Oct 81 p 7

[Jan Lipavsky, Pavol Minarik Warsaw dispatch: "Diktat Has Become Their Method; at the Warszawa Steel Mill During the General Strike"]

[Text] On 28 October young people with white and red bands on their sleeves stood at all the entrances to the Warszawa steel mill, as though the factory guards had ceased to exist.

The members of the "independent trade unions'" order-enforcing body, who replaced them, show self-confidence. Two people -- she in her prime and he nearing his retirement -- are entering the building which is the headquarters of the PZPR all-enterprise committee and other organizations.

"Your entry permits," shouts a young man with the "Solidarity" emblem on his coat collar as he seized the woman's sleeve.

"I have been working here for 12 years. Everyong here knows me very well," she says.

"That is irrelevant today. Show me your entry permit," the guard commands. The elderly man only waves his hand in resignation and begins to look in his pockets for his entry permit.

That day not even a mouse could pass the gate behind which "Solidarity" was keeping more than 9,000 employees...

"We want to go to the all-enterprise party committee," we tell the two "Solidarity" guards. We are told that this is out of question and to leave the building immediatly. "Meaning right now!" shouts the younger of the two men. We explain that we did not come to see them but people in the party committee who had invited us. "You can verify that, it you please," we tell them, but the two excited men do not seem to listen. Only after a sharp exchange of views on democracy and freedom of movement did the older of the two men consent and fetch the secretary of the all-enterprise PZPR committee.

It was an embarrassing moment. The "Solidarity" order-enforcing body escorts the secretary of the party organization and checks his guests...

"How is this possible?" we asked secretary A. Grasinski a while later. He shrugged his shoulders and sighed.

"What is the situation in the steel mill like?" we asked next.

"We have information that some departments will not strike. Party members and members of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions have declared that they will not strike. They have decided not to complicate any further the already critical situation in the country."

"And what is your party organization doing to ensure that its members who are also 'Solidarity' members do not strike?"

"After the conclusion of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum we convened an aktiv of communists and explained that party members must make a clear decision. If they subordinate themselves to 'Solidarity,' we will have to separate ourselves from them."

"And what have you done to prevent the strike as such from taking place?"

"We talked to the leaders of 'Solidarity.' First they hesitated whether to strike or not but then came an order from the Mazowsze provincial headquarters and the strike began here as well."

"Are you afraid the 'Solidarity' members might apply brute force to compel people who do not want to strike to do it after all?"

"Yes, we have been and still are afraid of that. Common sense and foresight do not always prevail."

"But you must somehow help them to prevail, don't you?"

"Of course, but it is not easy. The trade union of metallurgists wanted to appeal to its members via enterprise radio not to strike. But the 'Solidarity' strike committee forbade that and prevented them from entering the radio show."

"And you, as the party organization, do you have access to the enterprise radio?"

"During the strike we do not, deplorably."

"That is sad... in the critical situation in which you are you have no opportunity to address people through the radio?"

"Deplorably, this is one of the many examples of 'Solidarity's' approach to democracy, of its attitude toward other segments of society. Just consider how democratically this strike was organized: 'Solidarity' did not even deem it appropriate to ask rank-and-file members and other employees whether they want to strike at all. It simply ordered them to do so and that was that. People in 'Solidarity' ceased long ago to decide for themselves."

"What are the organizers of the strike afraid of, in fact?"

"I think that they are beginning to be afraid of their own members and not yet of you, who come from the outside."

"How many members of your party organization are 'Solidarity' members?"

"Not few because the original 'Solidarity' plans were quite different from those it publicly demonstrates today. That was also why PZPR members were joining 'Solidarity.' Today, however, according to our files, every day at least two party members terminate their membership in 'Solidarity,' to say nothing of nonparty members. The 'Solidarity' membership base is thus growing weaker. One former member wrote to us that 'Solidarity' ceased to be a trade union organization long ago and that it is a political opposition force that has nothing in common with socialism. That is also why he withdrew his membership. Others who leave the organization use similar arguments."

"What do you think about the general strike?"

"'Solidarity' wants to test how strong it is and what it can afford to do. I see that also in our enterprise."

"And how do your members react to it?"

"We explain to them where party members want to and must stand and what they must do to jointly erect a barrier against the dangerous development."

"Excuse me, but do not these explanations last too long? After all, time flies and 'Solidarity' is still on the offensive. What do you think about Walesa's words that the 'final stage of the game' has begun?"

"You know, it is difficult to say what such a final stage means for 'Solidarity.' But we in the party know very well what it means for all upright Polish people."

"Did you watch the documentary 'Hungary 1956' which your television broadcast a few days ago?"

"The whole republic watched it and it is very good that it watched it. It is a warning for the whole society. The film showed, in fact, methods similar to those applied by some 'Solidarity' extremists in the power struggle, methods which they evidently took over from the Hungarian counterrevolutionaries."

NEW STUDENT MOVEMENT 'INVOLVED IN POLITICAL GAMES'

AU031327 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 2 Nov 81 p 4

[Michal Havran article: "Attempts To Break Up the International Student Movement"]

[Excerpts] Recently, reactionary student organizations in the West have very definitely taken up a dangerous project.

They are trying to break up our world's progressive student movement. They want to upset the students' action unity in the struggle for their rights, a democratic educational system, progress and peace. These attempts have existed for a long time, but now they have assumed an all too concrete form. This concerns, in particular, the attempt to establish the so-called International Students' Association [ISA], which should represent some sort of a counter balance to the [Prague-based] International Students' Union [ISU]. Owing to its activities, the ISU enjoys great prestige not only among young people, which is borne out by the 109 member organizations from 106 countries, but also great recognition among peace-loving forces all over the world. Reactionary groups are now trying to sully the ISU's progressive contribution to the international student movement and the struggle for peace, and to erect obstacles to its activity. The attack on the unity of the international student movement is obvious.

A concrete attempt to set up the so-called ISA was made this summer when the National Union of French Students (UNEF-DIJON) organized a meeting in Paris of several student organizations. Particularly active at this meeting were delegation members of the American Students' Association and the so-called Independent Union of Polish Students [IUPS]. Two Polish delegates, Anna Krajewska and Grzegorz Malkiewicz, vied with each other in their attacks on the ISU. During the "deliberations," an agreement was reached to hold the first ISA session in Warsaw this month. It must be stressed in this context that some organizations that let themselves be deceived by the whole action at the beginning, have now grasped their error and have dissociated themselves from the project. This applies to student organizations from Brazil, Cyprus, El Salvador and other countries. These organizations have grasped that they might become instruments in the hands of reactionary forces that are fully supported and inspired by imperialist, anticommunist centers.

Most zealous, side by side with American provocateurs, are representatives of the so-called IUPS. Disregarding the interests of Polish students, they are becoming increasingly involved in political games that undermine the unity of the progressive student movement. In the past few days, they have launched an unprecedented aggressive campaign directed against the ISU and its member organizations -- including the Polish ISU member organization, the Socialist Union of Polish Students.

The attempt to organize the constituent congress of the so-called ISA in Warsaw shows clearly that the instigators of this provocative action see it as their main goal to subordinate the ISA to the plans of the aggressive political circles and espionage services of some Western countries, which are conducting an intensive anti-Polish campaign.

The so-called IUPS plays a very valuable role for counterrevolutionary, antisocialist, anticommunist and anti-Soviet forces. Counterrevolution uses this organization as a Trojan horse in the Polish students' and youth movement, which is now represented by a bewildering range of organizations. Anitsocialist forces are trying to separate, with the help of the so-called IUPS, young people from the party, to instill in their minds distrust in the values of socialism and to lead them astray, to the path of political provocations. The IUPS' first congress in Krakow this spring confirmed the path of betrayal. The congress was noisy and at the same time chaotic. The main objective of its organizers was to establish an organization that would have a hostile attitude to the people's system and to socialist Polish youth organizations. The IUPS publicly renounced any cooperation with the Socialist Union of Polish Students, which is the organization of the majority of Polish university students. The IUPS resorts with incredible ease to strikes, protests and street demonstrations. However, the goals of those actions mostly have no connection whatsoever with the students' actual interests. Let us recall, for example, the recent demonstrations by means of which the IUPS wanted to achieve the release of so-called political prisoners.

At the same time the IUPS is continuing its hostile campaign directed against public security corps and courts, which -- along with the loosened civilian discipline -- results in increased criminal activity and in the intensification of the social and economic crisis in Poland. And now the "independent students" have ventured into the international arena where they want to assist those who are out to destroy the progressive student movement.

The ISU Secretariat has issued a statement on those attempts, in which it emphasizes that at a time when progressive and democratic students, together with their peoples, are organizing new important steps in the joint struggle for world peace, national liberation and independence, groups are turning up that organize coordinated actions against the progressive and democratic student movement. The ISU Secretariat is confident that the initiators of the ISA's founding, and those who are behind them, will not be successful. The progressive and democratic student movement, on the basis of its experience of 35 years, will overcome all intrigues and obstacles.

U.S. 'BRIGHT STAR' MANEUVERS CALLED 'THREAT'

AU041304 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Nov 81 p 7

[Milan Madr article: "Preparations for Armed Interference; The United States Poses a Threat to the Middle East"]

[Excerpt] The American military activity in the Middle East exacerbates tension not only directly in this region, but has an equally negative and dangerous impact on international relations in general. However, on the other hand it is also true -- in light of the direction American policy is taking and of the unmistakable current signals -- that the Pentagon's present rough courting in the Middle East is only some sort of a prelude to even more hazardous and vehement military pressure on the entire region, including countries bordering on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

This is graphically illustrated by the plan of numerous American maneuvers, the most important of them -- unprecedented in scope -- to be held between 9 November and 12 December under the code name Bright Star. The maneuvers will take place on the territories of Egypt, Sudan, Oman and Somalia. Taking part in it will be American ground, air and naval forces. Marine units will land in Oman and Somalia from amphibious boats, acting in coordination with local troops. The 82d U.S. Airborne Division will be transferred to the western part of Egypt. A total of 35 B52 bombers with loads of bombs aboard, bombs that will be dropped on targets in the Egyptian desert, will also be relocated from the United States to Egypt. The command headquarters will be on the Egyptian Ra's Banas base in the Red Sea. The maneuvers will be commanded by U.S. Gen R. Kingston, commander of the intervention troops for so-called rapid deployment.

The objective of these maneuvers, which are incomparably more extensive than last year's Egyptian-American exercise in the western desert, is clear and menacing. The maneuvers represent a dress rehearsal for the deployment of American intervention troops against any country in the region whose government would not act in accordance with U.S. wishes. They constitute the largest specific preparation for American armed intervention in the Middle East so far.

HULA'S CONFERENCE WITH WEISS IN BERLIN ENDS

LD032152 Prague CTK in English 2102 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Berlin, 3 Nov (CTK correspondent) -- Chairmen of the (?Joint) Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, Federal Deputy Premier Vaclav Hula and [words indistinct] of ministers of the German Democratic Republic Gerhard Weiss, ended here Tuesday a two-day consultation on further extension of economic and scientific-technological cooperation. They discussed mainly the fulfillment of the tasks set in 1979 and at the 23rd session of the joint committee.

A high level of cooperation between the two countries has been reached by coordination of the 1981-1985 national-economic plans, a long-term trade agreement and a number of agreements on specialization and cooperation. This year's mutual exchange of goods is to rise by about seven per cent compared with last year.

The chairman also agreed on further cooperation between the two countries in 1982.

VASIL BILAK'S CPCZ PLENUM SPEECH 28 OCT

AU041340 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Oct 81 p 3

["From" the speech by Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, delivered at the Fourth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum in Prague on 28 October 1981]

[Text] The interest with which the members of the CPCZ Central Committee and the invited guests listened to the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's report, delivered by Comrade Pitra, as well as to Federal Premier Comrade Strougal's speech, confirms that we all realize the seriousness of the problems facing us.

What is involved are not only tasks in the agriculture sector, but also how we cope with the problems in our entire ecnomy. It is not going to be easy, but we can recall a much more difficult situation. The entire restructuring of the national economy, the country's industrialization, the collectivization of the countryside, the restructuring and build up of the new economic apparatus, the reorientation of foreign trade -- they were all carried out during the worst period of the cold war. After February 1948, the whole imperialist world acted in collusion against Czechoslovakia. They tried on us all the weapons they had at their disposal: discrimination, intimidation, extortion, as well as embargo, and we coped with all of it.

We have proceeded consistently from Lenin's principle that "history knows no revolutions that can be regarded as finished after the victory and after which one can rest on one's laurels." We will also overcome the present difficulties if we mobilize the entire party, the National Front, if we strengthen the party, state, work and technological discipline, if the standard of direct management corresponds to the current needs.

The problems of agriculture and nutrition, which we are discussing at this session, are of extraordinary importance not only for the stability of the state, the contentment of the people and their healthy nutrition, but they also strongly influence the socialist enlightenment of the people and, last but not least, CSSR's defense capability and international position.

Foodstuffs are becoming an important economic and ideological instrument in foreign policy. The socialist countries use them exclusively for humanitarian purposes, selflessly to help those who are in need. In contrast to that, imperialism misuses grain and other agricultural products as an instrument to make extortionist policy. They themselves cynically admit as much. Former U.S. President Carter admitted that the embargo on the Soviet Union harmed the U.S. economy, but that he "at least inflicted damage on the USSR by making it impossible for it to increase its per capita meat consumption."

Our party has correctly determined the task that Czechoslovakia should become self-sufficient in food. This line must be understood as being demanding and long-term. No one can expect that we will have already reached this objective in 1980 or 1982. To fulfill this task, it is necessary to create long-range technical, organizational and cadre prerequisites in all sectors of the national economy. This is in the socalist state's power. But no one -- not even the Communist Party or the government -- can ensure favorable climatic conditions.

All farmers were always aware that in the times when the harvest was not so good, one had to live within one's means.

This obvious truth seems to be falling into oblivion. When the harvest was poor, no solution was sought other than to buy abroad, and that even on credit. This has to end. The question is -- either to live on credit -- and our children and grandchildren will judge us as having been irresponsible managers -- or to be more modest, not to run into debt, and, above all, to manage things better. Every reasonable person in this republic will agree that only the second answer is correct. This also applies to fuels, energy and raw materials.

Every communist and noncommunist entrusted with a responsible task in planning, research, management, production or in a party or trade union organization, should search his conscience to see whether he has done everything he could to ensure the planned production of quality products so that we have the means to pay for the imports we need. Facts do not show that all our planning, managing agencies, the entire economic sector, have consistently adopted the line of the 16th CPCZ Congress on the necessity to achieve highly effective production and quality of all work.

To become hopelessly in debt to capitalists is just about the same as a Christian selling his soul to the devil. The cautionary case of Poland is a telling example. The disproportionate indebtedness is not the only cause of the origins of the counterrevolutionary situation in Poland, but one of the very important ones.

At the 16th congress, Comrade Husak urgently drew attention to the fact that the objectives which we are setting ourselves cannot be based on subjective wishes, but must proceed from what we have. At the same time we must not lose track of the international situation which very strongly affects our economy also.

We must even be prepared for voices asking whether we are not deviating from the line of the 16th congress. To such questions we must categorically answer: No. We continue on the reliable path of building advanced socialism. We are not weakening but strengthening the position of the workers class and its revolutionary vanguard -- the CPCZ, and its leading role in society. We adhere to the scientific weltanschauung, to Marxism-Leninism. We are strengthening the political system of the National Front and consistently implementing the foreign policy line approved by the 16th congress.

The conditions in which the economic directives of the congress are being implemented are for objective or subjective reasons changing in many respects. So many various obstacles have accumulated that this is slowing down our further advance.

We must also improve much in our political-educational work and see and examine phenomena and events as a single entity. The development of living standards is still generally understood as being natural, problem-free growth dependent on directives and not on the capabilities and possibilities of fulfilling it. I would not like to elevate objective causes above subjective, but not to take into account what is taking place around us would necessarily lead onto a path of fruitless criticism, and to a loss of objectivity and ability to determine correct solutions.

The international situation deteriorated sharply in the transition from the seventies to the eighties. It is not so critical that there is no way out, but the danger is considerable. Therefore it is necessary to make great efforts to avoid a catastrophe. This is not the first time we have faced such a situation. The Soviet Union, the other socialist countires and the progressive forces of the whole world have always had to fight hard and make sacrifices in their struggle with imperialism to win their achievements.

The basic motive for the sharpening of the line of imperialism does not lie in the growth of its power and possibilities, but, on the contrary, in the continuation and the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, and the further acceleration of the process of the revolutionary change of the world. The individual phenomena and events of the present days are complex and often very dangerous, and they must not be underestimated. But it would also be incorrect to assess the strength of imperialism only according to the bourgeois propaganda or according to the tough-guy statements of Reagan or Haig.

If we take a glance at the development of today's world in four vital spheres -- political-geographic, economic, ideological and military -- we come to the conclusion that a consolidation and strengthening of the imperialist system is not taking place, but, on the contrary, that the general crisis of capitalism is becoming more acute in all these spheres.

In the past 10 years alone at least 10 important countries liberated themselves from the imperialist yoke. Imperialism feels that its important strategic positions are in jeopardy and that it is losing its traditional sources of raw materials. Unemployment, inflation and all such ills are ever increasingly plaguing the capitalist society.

The conflicts between the three centers of imperialist competitors -- the United States, Europe and Japan -- have become more aggravated. In Western Europe and in Japan, especially in the economic sector, efforts to limit their dependence on American imperialism can be observed.

Imperialism, in its mounting difficulties, is seeking a way out in the militarization of the economy, in seeking a military-strategic superiority over socialism and in foreign expansion. True, the opponents of detente recently succeeded in seriously exacerbating the world situation and in increasing the threat of war, but this does not mean that war has become unavoidable.

The experience of recent years -- as Comrade Leonid Brezhnev emphasized when unveiling a memorial to heroes of World War II in Kiev -- convinces us that war can be averted. He recalled that in the past 35 years there have been very dangerous situations. There was the "cold war" and there have also been very critical moments. However, imperialists did not succeed in driving the world into an abyss. By its authority and its policy, the Soviet Union has been able to influence the international atmosphere and make it less rough.

With the imperialists the aggravation of the international situation proceeds hand in hand with efforts to mislead the world public by means of a broadly based misinformation campaign. Its purpose is to divert attention from their own aggressive and antipeace plans and to shift responsibility for the worsened world situation onto the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

For example, the so-called red book was published in the United States at the beginning of October in a large edition. It contains false assertions about an alleged Soviet military superiority over the NATO states. In this manner, the Western European public is to be prepared psychologically for the deployment of American missiles and the introduction of the neutron bomb, a matter that is being presented as an exclusively retaliatory measure against the alleged threat from the East. Also here it shows that a lie has short legs. Even former Bundeswehr and NATO states' generals, about whom no one can claim that they sympathize with the Soviet Union, describe the data as falsified.

As to this issue, contradictions show even in the utterances of American representatives themselves. Some of them emphasize that today the United States is interested only in restoring the military-strategic balance, allegedly upset by the Soviet Union; others -- as for example Defense Secretary Weinberger -- are openly declaring that the aim of the present U.S. Government is to achieve superiority over the Soviet Union, that the notions balance and parity have no meaning.

We cannot connect the policy of acting "from the position of strength" with the advent of the Reagan administration only. The Carter administration had already pushed through in NATO in the second half of the seventies a long-term plan for increasing military expenditure, a plan on the production and deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe, and also the presidential directive No 59 on the so-called limited nuclear war was approved then.

The Reagan administration is realizing in the most outrageous form the principles which, in the postwar policy of the United States, can be described as constant and which express the aggressive hegemonistic designs of the U.S. ruling class.

It is a broadly-based and long-planned frontal counterattack against socialism, the international workers class, the national liberation movement and all progressive forces.

In an effort to besmirch the socialist countries and their social system, not only the bourgeois propaganda centers are competing against one another, but also highly placed officials of the capitalist states are inventing the most egregious lies about our countries. Reagan's statement, that "communism is a mistake of history which must rectified," is well known.

Despite the absurdity of this assertion, which we have met several times throughout history, it is impossible not to take his utterance seriously. That statement was made by the president of the strongest capitalist power, who will strive for at least some of his utterance to be fulfilled.

American imperialists expect that if they succeed in gaining military supremacy they can carry out a policy of diktat and pressure toward other states. Moscow has said more than once that the Soviet Union was not striving to gain military superiority, but that it would permit no one to jeopardize the existing balance. The Soviet Union possesses all that is necessary to defend its own interests and the interests of its allies. Speculations to the effect that the Soviet Union allegedly could not stand a fresh round of the arms race is an illusion. It is natural that if the plans to increase armament in the West are carried out in full, it is necessary to expect appropriate additional measures to guarantee the defense of our community, which undoubtedly will be reflected in our economy. We must tell our people openly that no one will present us peace on a platter. We must defend peace in collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, as well as with peace-loving forces throughout the world. Anyone who has experienced the horrors of war and can imagine what the unleashing of a war would mean today is certain to agree that it is preferable to live more modestly than to die in abundance.

American imperialists, who would like to turn Europe into the main theater of a possible world thermonuclear conflict in the naive illusion that the United States itself will be spared, are prepared to sacrifice even their Western allies. A telling example of this attitude was the recent statement of President Reagan on the possibility of a limited nuclear war in Europe. When an opposition throughout the world justifiably arose against the idea, it is being excused by saying that allegedly those were just not well-considered words, a theoretical musing and so forth. The American administration has even depicted this unbelievable cynicism and inconsiderateness as only an episode.

During his brief tenure in office, Reagan has succeeded in revealing to the world the level of his knowledge of history, international policy and military science, and in particular, the lack of a leading statesman's responsibility.

The deployment of American nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe, as well as the manufacture and plans for the use of nuclear weapons, markedly increases the danger of a nuclear conflict since imperialism would be tempted to carry out the first strike. If we ponder how many politician-gamblers there are in the United States, known for underestimating the Soviet Union's strength and overestimating their own, this danger increases even more.

Ronald Reagan declared this January: "If necessary, we will maintain enough strength to gain superiority." U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger openly admitted in June 1981: "We put in them (that is, in the new missile and nuclear weapons systems) our hope for victory." Naturally, the notions "to gain superiority" or "to achieve victory" are notions about the unimaginable -- about war in which there can be no winner. But the constantly evoked ideas about the possibility of winning and relying on them could become -- especially with politicians who are deciding about the immense arsenals of nuclear weapons -- a dangerous fixed idea.

The hazard is the more dangerous since the United States once before in the postwar period had Secretary Forrestal heading the Department of Defense, who became the victim of his own propaganda about the Soviet danger. Obsession in politics, and especially obsession with anticommunism, is always dangerous.

Fortunately, the course of Reagan's foreign policy does not have the unequivocal support in the West which the United States would like. The current American policy is coming into conflict with certain specific interests of the West European bourgeoisie. As attested to by the course of the recent summit of the representatives of seven capitalist states in Ottawa, the United States is trying increasingly to solve its growing crises, particularly inflation and unemployment, at the expense of its allies.

A significant factor which arouses mistrust and opposition in Western Europe against the present American policy is genuine and justified fear of nuclear war. The realistically thinking politicians of these countries are increasingly beginning to ponder that the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe, like the recent decision of the American administration to manufacture the neutron bomb, condemns them in fact to playing the role of hostages of the Pentagon's nuclear strategists. The present U.S. military policy vis-a-vis Western Europe is the expression of American big-power egoism and cynicism. Therefore it is no wonder that the Dutch and Belgian Governments are still hesitating to give their assent to stationing American missiles on the territories of their states. The same, recent declaration of the Governments of Denmark and Norway, together with the Finnish Government, that they are willing to continue discussion on creating a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe, as suggested by the Soviet Union, is evidence that they do not want to be subordinated to the diktat of the United States.

Such developments very much bother the U.S. ruling circles. Zbigniew Brzezinski, former adviser to President Carter, even prophesies that the United States faces "a protracted and potentially dangerous crisis in Europe." According to Brzezinski, Western Europe suffers from pacifism and neutralism, the so-called Scandinavian disease. Brzezinski asserts that the United States must put itself in charge of curing the "Scandinavian disease," and that the medicine should be an even more pronounced emphasizing of the so-called Soviet threat and increasing military budgets.

However, the major moving force of opposition in Western Europe against the U.S. militarist policy is the mass social movement against American missiles which has reached virtually all these countries. This movement constitutes new forms of unity, new forms of the struggle for peace. Broad masses of people, regardless of their age, political conviction or ideological views, are being drawn into the active political struggle against the plans of imperialist reaction. Unification is occurring not only in individual countries, but also within the framework of the entire West European region, as -- for example -- the recent Copenhagen-Paris peace march revealed, or as attested to by the recent mighty antiwar demonstrations in Bonn, London, Paris, and Stockholm, such as these cities have not experienced since World War II.

The views and emotions of the participants in these mass actions influence not only the positions of individual political parties, trade union and other organizations, but also the governments of these countries. This has an impact on the positions of many West European socialist and social democratic parties and on the Socialist International itself.

Even the latest session of the Socialist International Bureau favored speeding up negotiations on medium-range missiles, and in this respect took a more realistic and, vis-a-vis the United States, more critical stance than the majority of the West European governments.

Also, the results of the systematic work carried out by the USSR vis-a-vis social democracy -- as attested to by the course and results of Willy Brandt and Michael Foot's visit in Moscow -- are positive elements of the Socialist International current policy.

The Madrid meeting -- as was stated in the report on the meeting between Comrade Gustav Husak and Leonid Brezhnev in the Crimea this July -- is becoming a great test for detente policy. The Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries are doing all they can to overcome the obstacles put in the way of its successful conclusion.

The Madrid meeting is not taking place in some sort of vacuum; its proceedings reflect the sharp struggle between two diametrically opposed directions in international policy.

The socialist countries are seeking to make use of the possibilities offered by the Madrid meeting to give a fresh impetus to detente, a matter which would take the solution of many unpostponable and complex international problems easier.

In the negotiations in Madrid we proceed from the assumption that the interests of West European states, as well as of neutral and nonaligned states, are not and cannot be identical with the egoistic interests of the present American administration. Thus the ultimate outcome of the Madrid meeting will depend to a large extent on how well the West Europeans extricate themselves from U.S. pressure and display political determination to conclude the Madrid meeting with a positive, realistic and generally acceptable document.

The Asian, African and Latin American Continents are undergoing vast changes. The national liberation movement of the peoples of the Asian, Arab, African and Latin American countries is an important factor in the present world revolutionary process.

Even today imperialism is not abandoning its old practice of declaring revolution and socialism to be coincidental phenomena, a "deviation" from the logic of history, a fruit of the communists' subjective will. Imperialism is doing everything possible to halt the revolutionary process. By concluding agreements on an unequal footing, corrupting entire governments, dispatching so-called military missions, organizing assassinations of discomfort-causing politicians, inciting local tension or armed conflicts -- the Reagan administration strives to subordinate the Asian, African and Latin American countries to the interests of American imperialism.

In Asia, the United States is trying to forge a united international front of reactionary forces, particularly against Socialist Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos.

In the Middle East region, the Reagan administration in essence continues some of the Carter administration's fundamental approaches to that region. It provides all-round support for Israel, which -- as a result -- can escalate further its provacative actions against the PLO, Lebanon, Syria and other Arab countries. The present American administration is declaring the Middle East to be one of the most important regions of "American vital interests."

Of late, we have been witnessing the dramatically developing situation in Egypt, which culminated with President As-Sadat's violent death.

After the Camp David accords, which As-Sadat signed, the Israelis carried out the greatest and the most destructive foray into Lebanese territory, unleased the most brutal extermination actions against the Palestinians, had on their conscience hundreds of dead [obeti], innocent civilians, committed another form of aggression by bombing an Iraqi test nuclear facility, formally annexed Jerusalem and at a rapid pace built new colonizing settlements in the occupied Arab territories. All that was happening with the assent or even active assistance of the Egyptian president. Such policy definitely did not lead and could not lead to lasting peace in the Middle East, as the participants in the Camp David deal were trying to convince the world. Precisely the contrary is true.

Egypt is undergoing a profound and acute sociopolitical crisis, and ever broader strata of the population are opposing the regime. Not even the hard and bloody repression against broad opposition, which As-Sadat unleashed shortly before his death, could prevent it.

The Reagan administration has mobilized and put on high alert American interventionist forces in the region, and is using them as an instrument of gross pressure to influence the domestic political developments in Egypt. This seriously jeopardizes peace not only in the Middle East region but throughout the world. The Soviet Government, with justification, warned the U.S. Government that "what is going on around Egypt concerns the security of the Soviet Union, which will follow attentively the further development of events."

The overall development in the Middle East can take various twists and turns. But one thing is certain: As-Sadat's death constitutes a great loss for American policy and for U.S. strategic and bilateral interests in the Middle East.

The African Continent is experiencing a dramatic period of development. Current developments are evidence of intensified U.S. efforts to subordinate the African Continent. However, its efforts are doomed to fail, if only by the fact that they are mainly concentrating on the most reactionary forces in Africa and on the Republic of South Africa, which is absolutely incompatible with the interests of the African nations.

In accordance with the line of the 16th congress, Czechoslovakia is helping the continent's progressive forces in their struggle against imperialism and its local allies. Comrade Gustav Husak's recent friendly visit to Libya, Ethiopia and the PDRY has opened new perspectives and yielded important impulses for the development of Czecholsovakia's friendship and mutual cooperation with these countries. At the same time, the visit has become convincing evidence and a manifestation of international solidarity and of our support for countries which have chosen the path of progressive and socialist development.

Our line of principled support for the forces of the national liberation movements was again manifested during the recent successful visits by the president of the People's Republic of Angola and the president of the People's Republic of Mozambique to the CSSR.

The struggle of progressive forces for peace, national liberation and socialism is greatly complicated by the fact that the plans of American imperialism to escalate international tension and to wage a struggle against socialism, progress and the revolutionary and liberation movement, give pride of place to a conspiracy between the United States and the current Chinese leadership.

China has actively joined the struggle for establishing an international front against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, against the entire revolutionary movement.

It is necessary to continue to oppose categorically the influence of destructive Chinese policy and world developments. We must systematically show that China is becoming to an ever increasing extent the ally of world imperialism, especially American imperialism, when it comes to asserting its antipeace and antisocialist objectives.

There has been no substantial change in our relations with the European states as was formulated by the 16th CPCZ Congress. In the congress report, Comrade Husak emphasized that the only capitalist country with which -- through no fault of ours -- normal relations so far have not been established is the United States. Let us recall the fact that for 36 years now the United States has been unlawfully holding seized Czechoslovak gold. A willingness has been expressed to discuss this issue.

In another part of his speech, Comrade Bilak informed the party Central Committee on the state of the legal property negotiations with the United States and Great Britain on detained Czechoslovak gold. An agreement was recently reached with the American Government, but in view of the past negative experience it is difficult to foresee what attitude the U.S. Congress will adopt to the agreement now being prepared. Negotiations with the British Government, which are as difficult as those with the U.S. administration, are still in progress.

Europe, which has recorded the longest period without war in its history, has become involved in the very dangerous war designs of the United States because of the aggressive policy of American imperialism. The strongest positions of the socialist community -- which is the most consistent opponent of the American warmongering plans -- are in Europe. The long-term program of imperialism is based on weakening the socialist community as a whole and individual socialist states. They have selected the Polish People's Republic as a weak link. For this, imperialism is exploiting all the errors and shortcomings committed by the party and state leadership of the Polish People's Republic. The crisis in Poland has roots reaching far into the past.

A disregard of Marxist-Leninist principles of construction of socialist society in politics, the economy, ideology and the entire superstructure caused a crisis in Polish society which undermined the very foundations of the socialist system. The party leadership did not effect an analysis of mistakes in time, and did not try to rectify them. This is left to elements who do not have socialism at heart but who misuse mistakes and shortcomings against the socialist system.

Constant concessions to antisocialist forces have created in Poland a state of de facto dual government. Reactionary forces concentrated in "Solidarity" -- through their organizations in enterprises, and frequently disoriented and deceived members of various agencies and institutions -- today control the activity of the state and economic apparatus. By means of various actions, "Solidarity" paralyzes internal life in Poland. Through its propaganda and political activity at various meetings it influences the thinking of the Polish public in the spirit of pronounced nationalism and political clericalism. The influence of the Church in the political and ideological spheres has gown further, while anti-Soviet propaganda, has been given a green light and daily becomes more brutal and overt.

After the PZPR congress, "Solidarity's" antisocialist actions continue. Under the slogan of "new organizational structures in the national economy," "Solidarity's" intention is to disrupt the entire socialist system in Poland and to create conditions for restoring capitalist methods of management in towns and the countryside. The economic situation has greatly deteriorated. Production has dropped even further, supplies to the domestic market have worsened, and there is an absolute shortage of industrial consumer goods. "Solidarity" is trying to control production, imports, exports and the distribution of goods. It is undermining production and supplies everywhere, but blames the party and government.

The "Solidarity" congress has basically eradicated the PZPR congress from the mind of the people. At their congress, "Solidarity" leaders clearly came out with the task of seizing political power. If anyone still has any doubts as to the counterrevolutionary plans of "Solidarity," they ought to have been dispelled after its congress.

The organizers of the "Solidarity" congress -- after rescinding an earlier agreement with the government on normalizing the situation in the country -- de facto challenged the party and state to a struggle. The "Solidarity" leaders are seeking to control the activity of the Sejm and the government, the mass media, education and the entire life of Polish society.

The "Solidarity" program no longer mentions socialism or the PZPR and its leading role in society, or cooperation with the party and government.

What is involved is an overt program of antisocialist, counterrevolutionary forces intended to restore the earlier bourgeois system in Poland. This program in fact [vlastne] created the legal basis for banning a reactionary organization such as "Solidarity."

It appears that the healthy forces in the PZPR are increasingly aware of the danger arising from the "inconsistency and ineffectiveness of the party leadership" as, for example, is stated in the report delivered on 13 October 1981 at the session of the Warsaw city party committee.

Serious criticism was voiced at the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum held on 16-18 October. The session released First Secretary Comrade Kania from that function, elected Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski to head the party and adopted conclusions which are creating the prerequisites for mobilizing the party and all healthy forces to smash counter-revolution.

The adopted resolution contains an unequivocally critical attitude toward "Solidarity" and its activities and methods, and also empowers the highest party and state agencies to use their constitutional powers in a situation where the nation's existence is in danger. This demonstrates that the majority of the Central Committee members newly elected by the ninth congress, as well as the majority of the leading secretaries of the voivodship party committees, have begun to realize the full impact of the present situation on the future development of the party, society and socialism in Poland.

We are convinced that Comrade Jaruzelski will apply fully the confidence and support of the Central Committee in the struggle against counterrevolution. The critical situation which has arisen in Poland must be blamed both on the counterrevolutionary forces and on those who allowed imperialism to turn Poland into a detonator in the socialist community. In this situation, Lenin's telling words apply: "A person who 'sincerely' pronounces himself to be a communist, but who in reality, instead of with a mercilessly hard, mercilessly determined and on the whole courageous and heroic policy, wavers and becomes dispirited, such a person by his lack of character, by his wavering and his indecisiveness is committing the same betrayal as a downright traitor."

The steadily worsening situation of the Polish economy remains a serious problem. As a result of the strikes and further pressure campaigns a situation is being created which makes it impossible to overcome the sorry state of the Polish national economy.

There is no foreseeable hope that the national economy and domestic market will be revived if strikes, not work, have to be paid for. Paying someone for striking, and even supplying him better, is a paradox without equal in the world.

The situation in Poland is exceptionally complicated and we must expect that overcoming the deepseated crisis will not be a short-term task. The CPCZ will persist in its internationalist attitude toward developments in the Polish People's Republic. In accordance with the conclusions of the 16th congress it will give full support to the communists, the workers class, the working people, and to all true proponents of socialism in their endeavor to beat back the onslaught of reaction, solve accumulated problems and consolidate the socialist social system. It means that on the one hand we will support the efforts of our Polish comrades to eliminate, overcome and remedy the serious errors and shortcomings of the past period; but on the other hand we will condemn resolutely the activities of all forces seeking to misuse both justified criticism and the difficulties which have arisen in order to launch a general attack on the very existence of socialism in Poland.

In this respect our party will continue actively to expand relations with the PZPR.

In conclusion, Comrade V. Bilak said that the present international situation is not a remote matter that does not concern our everyday life and our work.

Similarly, as in overcoming problems in the national economy, one should not introduce insecurity in the international sphere or lose optimism. The better we succeed in bringing this question close to the working people and the better they understand it, the greater will be the positive results in our work and struggle for peace.

Some decisions will not be popular, but as soon as people understand them they will accept them. We know that all difficulties can be overcome only by honest work, which will thus consolidate the political and economic strength of the CSSR and increase our contribution to the struggle for world peace.

POLISH SOLIDARITY LEADER 'CALLS FOR MURDER'

AU041411 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 3 Nov publishes on page 5 a 90-word ADN dispatch headlined "'Solidarity' Leader Calls for Murder." The article refers to the speech of Marian Jurczyk, the Szczecin 'Solidarity' leader in the Trzebiatow furniture plant, in which he called for the murder of Polish party and state functionaries by threatening to "set up a gallows for certain people to hang them," and stated that "in this year 'Solidarity' must assume power in Poland."

The paper on the same page carreis a 120-word ADN dispatch headlined "'Solidarity' Continues Strike Provocations." The dispatch states that "the provocations staged by 'Solidarity' continue in numerous regions of Poland" and refers to the strikes in the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship where the daily production losses are estimated at 128 million zloty.

POLISH DEMOCRATIC PARTY DELEGATION BEGINS VISIT

AU031231 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Oct 81 p 2

[Summary] Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] on Thursday in Berlin received a delegation of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of the Polish People's Republic led by Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Alfred Beszterda. Gerlach briefed the Polish guests on the tasks of the LDPD for ensuring its comprehensive participation in fulfilling the domestic and foreign policy goals set by the 10th SED Congress.

"Alfred Beszterda stressed the social coresponsibility of the Democratic Party for overcoming the current difficult situation in the Polish People's Republic, for consolidating socialism in Poland, and for repelling all attacks by the enemies of socialism. He stressed the need for intensified ideopolitical work of the Democratic Party.

"Both sides condemned the peace-endangering intensified armament and confrontation course of the most aggressive circles of imperialism and emphasized the need for increased endeavors in the struggle for peace, against the arms race, and for disarmament on the basis of the peace program of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community."

FRIENDSHIP MEETING WITH PDRY HELD IN POTSDAM

AU031509 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Oct 81 p 2

[Summary] Potsdam (ADM) -- On Thursday a friendship meeting was held at the Potsdam-Babelsberg Political and Legal Sciences Academy on the occasion of the anniversary of the revolution of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY]. It was attended by guests from the GDR and from abroad, as well as by scientists, students and staff members of the academy. Prof Heinz Gambke, president of the GDR-PDRY Friendship Committee of the League for Friendship Among Peoples, praised the ahcievements of the PDRY people under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party in building the new society, as well as the important role played by the PDRY in the worldwide struggle for strengthening peace, for arms limitation and disarmament. He pledged continued GDR support to the Yemeni people on the basis of the 1979 friendship and cooperation treaty and in the spirit of proletarian solidarity.

"Hasan al-Sallami, president of the PDRY-GDR Friendship Society, member of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee and minister of education, confirmed his country's consistent position at the side of the socialist states and of all anti-imperialist forces working for peace, democracy and social progress."

MUBARAK THANKS HONECKER FOR CONGRATULATIONS

LD280010 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1604 GMT 27 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 27 Oct (ADN) -- The president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Mohammad Husni Mubarak, sent the following telegram to Erich Honecker, the chairman of the GDR State Council: I have received with profound gratitude your friendly message of good wishes, your excellency, on my election as president of the republic. I thank you once again and sincerely hope that the relations which link our countries may develop still more successfully.

HONECKER, STOPH RECEIVE MESSAGE FROM PRC LEADERS

LD271806 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 27 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 27 Oct (ADN) -- The chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, Ye Jianying, and the premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Zhao Ziyang, have sent the following message of thanks to the chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, and the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph:

We venture to express our thanks for the message of good wishes sent to us on the 32d anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. May the friendship between our two peoples and the relations between our states develop steadily.

HONECKER SENDS ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS TO ALGERIA

AU041101 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Oct-1 Nov p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, has sent the following telegram of congratulations to Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and secretary general of the National Liberation Front [FLN] party:

Highly esteemed Comrade Chadli Bendjedid! On the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the armed struggle against the colonial suppression of your country I convey to you, Comrade Chadli Bendjedid, the FLN Party Central Committee members and the Algerian people the most cordial greetings and congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the GDR people as well as on my own behalf.

The victory which the heroically struggling Algerian people and their army achieved in the sacrifical struggle for the national independence under the leadership of the FLN opened up for your country the way of social progress.

The GDR watches with great interest the success of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria in the struggle for peace, security and equality between the countries in international relations and against colonialism and racism. I note with pleasure that the relations of friendship and anti-imperialist solidarity which have historically grown between our parties, states and peoples find their fruitful expression in a multifacted, dynamically and comprehensively developing cooperation.

I am convinced that these relations, characterized by interests and aims that agree, will continue to further develop and deepen in the joint struggle for maintaing world peace, for international security and social progress and against imperialist tutelage and intervention.

I wish you personal well-being and creative vigor in your high responsible work for the benefit of the Algerian people.

On the same occasion Willi Stoph GDR Council of Ministers chairman, conveyed congratulations to Mohamed Ben Ahmed Abdelghani, prime minister of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria.

HORIZONT ON CHILEAN COMMUNISTS' MANIFESTO

AU031510 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No 44 1981 pp 25-26

[Excerpts from the "recently" published "Manifesto of the Communist Party of Chile"]

[Text] Chileans: Freedom must be now! Now the time has come to resolutely and jointly march forward. It is necessary to raise the flag of the struggle and the people's resistance against the tyranny. Chile is living under an unrestricted despotism. Never before have so many crimes and acts of violence been committed, never before was the country's sovereignty so much endangered and national security so weakened. Things cannot go on like that! Bernardo O'Higgins and the other founders of Chile liberated us from the Spanish yoke in order to set up a free nation. The Chilean people were not born to live in slavery. Even in the most difficult years there were men, women and young people who waged a resolute struggle against the oppression.

The grave problems of our people and the damage inflicted on our country are the liability of Pinochet and of fascism. We have to put an end to the dictatorship which has lasted for too long. Only through a uniform struggle, with efforts and sacrifices will the people of Chile win back their rights which at present are trampled upon.

Pinochet boasts that the economy is on the upswing. But the unrestricted importation of goods is imposing a constantly greater burden of debts upon the country, foreign products are crowding domestic ones out of the market. This leads to acute unemployment. The great majority of the Chileans have only very limited access to these goods. Frequently they can afford only cheap things and used clothing.

In industrial production the level existing 10 years ago has still not been reached again. In 6 of the 7 years since the establishment of the dictatorship it was lower than in 1972. In other words: More than a whole year's production has been lost. In this period Chile did not experience any industrial development but an industrial setback. The economic upswing of which Pinochet is talking is built on sand: The economy is living on loans and is wasting funds that do not belong to it.

Application of Many Different Forms of Struggle

The dictatorship has again demonstrated its open disregard of human rights when expelling four outstanding democrats: The jurists Jaime Castillo, Orlando Cantuarias, Carlos Briones and Alberto Jerez. This arbitrary action was condemned by the population. Governments, prominent figures and organizations from numerous countries have raised their voices in protest and declared their solidarity with the persons concerned. This measure clearly shows once more that oppression will continue as long as Pincohet and the fascists remain in power.

There is only one way out: to develop the mass struggle, to establish the unity of all democrats, and to wage all kinds of struggle expressing the people's resistance. To win freedom there is no other alternative than the unity and the struggle of the whole people. That is why we are calling for the establishment of a comprehensive unity front of the democratic forces, and for the waging of many different forms of struggle to defend our achievements and to implement our demands. We call upon the people to make use of their right to counter the reactionary force by force.

Overcoming of All Obstacles Necessary

We find ourselves in a complicated situation. On the one hand, Pincohet is institutionalizing his regime and is getting full support from the Reagan administration.

He feels stronger than he is. The opposition, on the other hand, cannot cope with its tasks. Although it is the majority, it cannot offer an alternative. The Communist Party calls for setting secondary considerations aside since these constitute obstacles to the unity and the struggle of the people and since they -- whether intended or not -- actually only serve the tyranny.

The Popular Unity and the leftist forces have much to their credit. One of their achievements is that their parties, movements and personalities have remained steadfast and have not yielded to the tyranny. This is a great political and moral potential. In light of the fact that the leftist forces are of such quality, it is intolerable that secondary considerations, which impair their unity and prevent them from leading the struggle, still continue to be predominant. We do not want to set outselves up as judges. It is obvious that the difficulties do not emanate just from any one party and that they are not only due to the well-known splits. However, what is even clear and undeniable is the need to overcome the misunderstandings that hamper their work.

Our party appeals to the entire left wing, to all those belonging to the Popular Unity and to those not represented in it. We submit to them the proposal to reach political agreements on joint actions as soon as possible. The meeting of eight parties that took place in Havana in December 1980 must be regarded in this sense as a first step toward a better understanding of the entire Chilean left wing. At the same time the Communist Party is advocating an agreement between the left wing and the Christian Democrats, between all the opposition forces.

Since the fascist putsch, our party has struggled for the unity of all forces opposing the dictatorship. Concrete proposals for implementing this unity have been submitted in our declaration of September 1976, during the plenary meeting of our Central Committee in 1977, and in our "democratic project."

A minimum platform must be created which unites all Chileans in the struggle for democracy. We think that one goal of this platform must be to eliminate the political, economic and institutional foundations which made the tyranny possible. In our opinion this platform must include the basic idea that sovereignty emanates from the people and that the people have the right to decide what kind of democracy will be set up after the overthrow of fascism. We think that it must be renewed, national and people's democracy. The Communist Party makes a proposal for this minimum program which will be publicly announced together with this manifesto. We address a plea to all the forces which support the restoration of democracy to study this proposal, as we on our part are ready to take into account all proposals submitted by them.

Always Allied with the Progressive Forces

The Communist Party reaffirms its readiness to conclude an agreement which unites all opposition forces without any exception and which must be a commitment for the present and the future. It repeats its readiness to form a joint government. At the same time it stresses once again its will to achieve an understanding on other questions as well. First and foremost it is ready to conclude an agreement with the only goal of overthrowing the dictatorship and paving the way for the free decision by the people on the future development of the country.

The course which mankind takes is not determined by Pinochet, as he foolishly wants to make believe, and not by his imperialist wire-pullers either. The tyrant rejoiced over Reagan's election victory. He wanted to create the impression that his international isolation has come to an end and the future belongs to those who have subscribed to anticommunism. The dangers which emanate from Reagan's policy are obvious. He tries by all means to impose imperialist domination in the world. But it is a fact that the international situation does not depend only on the will of a man or the decisions of the U.S. Government. The peace proposals of the 26th CPSU Congress have much more weight.

All that and the victory of the left in France and the increased mobilization of the West European peoples against the planned deployment of missiles in their countries destroy the rosy picture which Pinochet has about international developments.

We are of the opinion that there must be no ambiguous positions in the worldwide struggle between the supporters and the enemies of peace, between those who want to stop the onward march of the peoples and the advocates of progress. We identify ourselves always and everywhere with the cause of progress: with the revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada; with our brothers in El Salvador, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Guatemala and Haiti, who are rebelling against the terrorist tyrannies; with the struggle of Africa against imperialism, racism and apartheid; with the struggle of Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and all Arab countries against the aggressions and provocations of the Zionists of Israel and U.S. imperialism; with the heroic Vietnam and the other peoples of Southeast Asia who are threatened by the efforts of the Chinese leadership to gain hegemony; with the communists and the people of Poland in their efforts to overcome the difficulties, to efficiently oppose the counter-revolution and secure socialism. In the life of the world and the peoples everything is not black or white, but in the struggle one has to be on one or the other side of the barricade.

In their struggle for freedom our people are at the threshold of a new historical stage. They are undertaking the first steps and learning to master all forms of struggle without ignoring even one of those that have already been tested.

In the struggle for freedom and their rights, the working people are opposed to their main enemies, imperialism and oligarchy. They are not at all interested in letting this unavoidable contest become a face-to-face struggle with the armed forces, as it had to be in other countries. It depends on the scope and the force of the masses' resistance to ensure that the way to freedom will not cause excessive bloodshed. Finally this will also depend on the Armed Forces. For nearly 8 years they have been the support and many of them the agents of a regime of terror. We call upon them to think about that and change their attitude.

The enemy wants to lead the people astray by maintaining that we communists call for an uprising of the people. This is not true. We are in the first state of a process of the people's rebellion, the end of which is still unforeseeable regarding its temporal course and its final form. However, people are beginning to realize that Pinochet and his fascist regime must be overthrown by force and that a corresponding preparation for this is necessary.

The Party is Invincible

The Chilean workers class and the people of our country can rely on the Communist Party. In the struggle against fascism not a few of our leaders and members have fallen, but the party remains. Fascism did not succeed in destroying it and it will not be able to do so in the future, either. The party will always fulfill its commitment vis-a-vis its class, its people and its fatherland. The same applies to the communist youth which is waging a sacrificial and heroic struggle.

The members of the party and the Communist Youth Organization spread our word throughout the country and fulfill it with concrete actions. Together with all people's forces they are beginning to lay the foundation for the success of the future. Closely allied with the people, they are preparing for the 60th anniversary of our party on 2 January 1982. Thus they honor the legacy of Luis Emilio Recabarrens who said at the beginning of our century: "...The revolution will further advance unswervingly, that is, quietly if it is under the protection of freedom, but violently and dreadfully if it is stopped on its way. He who sows the seeds of hatred will reap revenge."

[Signed] Communist Party of Chile, Santiago, September 1981

SOCIALIST EDUCATION CONFERENCE ISSUES COMMUNIQUE

AU281640 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Oct 81 pp 3-4

["Concluding Communique of the Fourth Conference of Public Education Ministers of Socialist Countries"]

[Excerpts] From 20 to 23 October 1981, the regular fourth conference of the socialist countries' ministers of public education was held in Berlin, the capital of the GDR.

The participation of new states in the fourth conference of the socialist countries' ministers of public education is eloquent proof of the development and consolidation of the forces of socialism in today's world.

The conference condemns the irresponsible policy of the new administration of the United States of America and its political and military allies, who are seeking to fan the spirit of the cold war and to intensify the arms race. It especially condemns the planned deployment of new U.S. medium-range weapons in the FRG and other West European NATO states, as well as the continuous military interference in the lives of the peoples, who are pursuing the struggle for national independence and social progress.

For this very reason, the conference participants regard it as a primary task to intensify their endeavors in the struggle for peace and international detente, to utilize all the possibilities of the educational system to strengthen socialism and to propagate its peace policy.

The conference most resolutely condemns all forms of colonialism and racism, the declared enemies of education for the broad masses of the working people, and appeals to all teachers of our countries to unmask the theory and practice of neocolonialism and to teach their students to be active fighters against the exploitation of man by man.

The conference supports the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that are still under the yoke of neocolonialism, as well as the struggle of the countries that are defending their revolutionary achievements against the attacks of the imperialist reaction.

On behalf of their countries' teachers, the conference participants condemn the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa as well as its insidious attack on the freedom-loving people of the Republic of Angola, which has cost many lives.

The conference declares its solidarity with the struggle of the SRV, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea for peace, stability, good-neighborly relations and collaboration in Southeast Asia. It stresses that the Revolutionary People's Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is the only genuine and rightful representative of the people of Kampuchea in the United Nations and other international organizations.

The conference supports the proposals of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan for a political settlement and for stabilizing the situation in the region through negotiations with the neighbor countries of Pakistan and Iran.

The conference participants advocate successful negotiations to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. They characterize the imperialist plans for establishing an aggressive south Atlantic military alliance and for expanding the sphere of action of NATO as a danger to international security.

The conference resolutely rejects the dangerous hegemonistic course of Beijing that is dangerous for the whole world.

The conference stresses the position that peace and security in the Middle East can only be achieved through complete withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories and through safeguarding the inalienable rights of the Arab peoples of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and to an independent state of their own, as well as through guaranteeing the existence and security of all states in the Middle East.

The aim of our joint struggle is to preserve peace, disarmament and international detente. Therefore, the conference participants are actively supporting the peace program submitted by the 26th CPSU Congress as well as the new peace initiatives of the USSR in the United Nations.

The conference participants unanimously declare that the exchange of opinions and experience at the fourth conference of the socialist countries' public education ministers provided mutual information about the training and education of youth, teacher training and the whole complex of the vocational and social duties of the teacher.

The conference contributes toward developing the collaboration of the teachers of the participating countries whose influence on the hearts and minds of youth is extraordinarily great.

The conference participants agree that it is necessary to intensify collaboration in the field of scientific-pedagogical work between the socialist countries with the aim of utilizing the achievements and experiences in their joint interest thus making a contribution toward further strengthening the forces of peace and of socialism on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism and friendship among peoples.

The climate of trust, unamimity and professionalism of this conference is a firm basis for further deepening the mutual relations in the field of public education between our countries.

Berlin, 23 October 1981

WESTERN JOURNALISTS BANNED FROM REGIONAL SYNOD

LD041240 Hamburg DPA in German 1119 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Summary] East Berlin, 4 Nov (DPA) -- The East Berlin Foreign Ministry again has forbidden several permanently accredited Western correspondents to report directly from the session of an evangelical regional synod in Halle. As in previous cases the GDR Foreign Ministry refused to explain its decision on Wednesday.

Those hit by the ban include DPA, ASSOCIATED PRESS and the West German ZDF television network. An application from a freelance journalist who wanted to go to the synod to report for SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG was also turned down.

The GDR correspondent of the EVANGELICAL PRESS SERVICE, however, is permitted to report the session in Halle as well as those of other regional synods meeting during the weekend. Such a differentiated approach to Western correspondents was taken for the first time in October when the synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Saxony met in Dresden.

The agenda of the five regional synods due to meet on the weekend includes the planned closer fusion of the eight evangelical regional churches in the GDR. Topics to be discussed by the synods meeting before the weekend also include an initiative by young Christians for a civilian service as a substitute to military service in the GDR.

HERRMANN ATTENDS NATIONAL FRONT COUNCIL MEETING

LD301454 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1058 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 30 Oct (ADN) — A GDR National Front National Council session was held in Berlin today, at which Prof Dr Lothar Kolditz was unanimously elected president of National Front National Council. The session began late this morning in the assembly hall of the People's Chamber in Marx-Engels Square.

Werner Kirchhoff, vice president of the National Council, cordially welcomed the members of the highest body of the Socialist People's Movement, and the guests, among whom were numerous members and chairmen of National Front committees.

Joachim Herrmann, member of the National Council Presidium, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, on behalf of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and in full agreement with the chairmen and first secretaries of the National Front's united parties and mass organizations, submitted the proposal for electing Prof Dr Lothar Kolditz, member of the National Front National Council and director of the GDR Academy of Sciences' Institute for Inorganic Chemistry, as president of the National Council.

This proposal was then put to the vote. All National Council members stood, thereby expressing their agreement. To prolonged and stormy applause, FDJ member Gregori presented the president of the GDR National Front National Council with a large bouquet of flowers on the occasion of his unanimous election. Werner Kirchhoff asked Prof Dr Kolditz to be seated in the Presidium. On behalf of all present he cordially congratulated the president and wished him health, fruitfulness and success in his lofty post.

AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE ENDS IN BERLIN

AU031511 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Oct 81 p 2

[Summary] Berlin (ND) -- A 3-day scientific conference attended by 1,250 agricultural scientists and researchers from other sectors ended on Thursday. In 12 symposiums, 76 scientists from socialist countries participated in the discussion on effective production of agricultural raw materials and environmental planning. In their concluding reports the chairmen of the symposiums stressed that the conference will provide important stimuli for the strategy of agricultural research in the 1980's and the following years, with special emphasis on economical energy production and utilization.

Great attention was paid at the conference to the questions of better utilization of solar energy and natural precipitation, more efficient tillage methods, better fertilizing methods, storage improvement, better adjustment of crops to local conditions, and increase in soil fertility through increased leguminous and catch crop cultivation.

BRIEFS

ARMY COMPETITION DRIVE -- Under the slogan "fighting position 10th party congress -- everything for the well-being of the people," the socialist competition in the NVA [National People's Army] will be continued during the 1981-82 training year. The initiators of the competition appeal are, among others, the tank soldiers of the Leo (Joewisches) troop unit. Relying on their unshakable confidence in the policy of the party, the soldiers are expressing their militant attitude toward the fulfillment of the fighting task set forth by the 10th party congress. [Text] [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1851 GMT 3 Nov 81 DW]

PUJA WRITES ADMISSION REQUEST TO IMF, IBRD

LD041950 Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Budapest, 4 Nov (MTI) -- In Washington competent officials of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development have received a letter by Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, which says the Hungarian People's Republic applies for admission to these two specialized financial bodies of the United Nations.

Hungary's active participation in international credit and money transactions, her wide-ranging external economic relations and the desire to improve continuously the external conditions of the economy motivate the normalization of the relations of Hungary and the two financial bodies.

NEPSZABADSAG COMMENTS ON LAZAR-SCHMIDT TALKS

AU031351 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Oct 81 p 3

[Andras Kanyo article: "Useful and Successful Talks"]

[Text] The talks between [Hungarian Council of Ministers chairman] Gyorgy Lazar and [FRG chancellor] Helmut Schmidt served a continuation of the East-West dialogue, which has been faltering for some time, as well as becoming better acquainted with each other's positions and understanding them better and, primarily, developing bilateral relations.

This sincere endeavor characterized the meetings and talks of the two heads of government. In addition to reviewing the status of bilateral relations to date and their further development, preserving peace and continuing the pursuit of a policy of detente turned out to be one of their central themes. Although positions did not coincide on every point -- our views are not completely identical about the reasons for the danger of a nuclear war threatening Europe -- nevertheless, we are bound together by responsibility for maintaining peace. By virtue of this realization, Gyorgy Lazar said that "we regard a continuation of the dialogue among countries with different social systems, which serves not only bilateral relations but, beyond them, universal peace and security as well, as possible and necessary."

As for economic relations, the West German side has also recognized the grave danger inherent in the present negative trends of the world economic situation, as well as the fact that these dangers are threatening a crisis not only the industrially less developed countries, but also countries with a great industrial base, including the FRG, today. Relevant to that are, among other things, a parsimonious financial policy and measures of a protectionist nature. The so-called north-south meeting held in Cancun in Mexico, too, has shown that, despite the previous hopes of some West European statesmen, rapid and positive changes cannot be expected in that respect.

Under these circumstances, particular significance attaches to promoting traditional bilateral economic relations. They include solutions that are based on mutual interests and make allowances for one another's requirements and resolute measures against the diminution of economic relations -- in other words, mutual enhancement of cooperation, something the Hungarian side has always been prepared to do. And the present talks have reaffirmed this readiness.

It is gratifying that West German negotiating partners, representatives of government and business life, have also made statements in that spirit. How far it will be possible to implement the concepts of one side or the other will emerge in the coming months, when those concepts are discussed. Appraising Hungarian-West German cooperation agreements, the chancellor expressed the hope that they would be further expanded. He probably also had unemployment, which is assuming alarming proportions in his country, in mind when he voiced the conviction that "intensifying cooperation of this kind contributes to furthering not only production, but employment as well.

Stabilizing international relations, the success of disarmament talks and consolidating European peace and security, as well as preserving and further developing the mutual successes attained in the economic area call for additional efforts. The talks have proven useful and successful, because both sides have manifested their readiness to make such efforts.

Bonn, 29 October.

GYENES DISCUSSES INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

AU031507 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 1 November on page 5, under the headline "Andras Gyenes: The characteristics of International Conditions at the Beginning of the Eighties," carries a 3000-word review -- according to a footnote -- of a lecture delivered by the MSZMP Central Committee secretary at the Central Committee's Political Academy on 26 October: an appraisal of the development of international conditions since the sixties.

Gyenes attaches "particular significance" to the fact that "The previous military superiority of the United States and NATO vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and teh Warsaw Pact ended by the sixties," which means that "Imperialism can no longer undertake to militarily annihilate the socialist world without risking its own destruction." That and the increasing economic interdependence of countries "make it indispensable that, alongside the struggle related to their fundamental differences, elements of cooperation independent of social systems should also assert themselves in relations between the two world systems."

Gyenes blames international bourgeoisie and particularly "U.S. monopoly capitalist circles" for the intensification of international tension from the mid-seventies, and negative trends that are "particularly perceptible in Soviet-U.S. relations" which, however, "have not nullified the results attained in the detente process," he notes, adding that "it is a decisive factor that an unfavorable change has not occurred in the international balance of power."

Gyenes describes, as the "most conspicuous feature of the international conduct of the present U.S. administration," the "resolute and openly stated intention to attain by the mid-eighties, through a vigorous intensification of the arms race, an unequivocal military superiority vis-a-vis the Soviet Union." He says that "It is a typical negative feature of U.S. attitudes in recent years that, while they worked out a whole array of long-term and specific military development programs, they spoke only in generalities of the need to limit armaments and come to terms, and failed to take a single initiative constituting genuine progress toward alleviating the worldwide military tension."

Dwelling on differences between the United States and the European NATO countries, Gyenes notes that the latter are "much more directly interested in maintaining detente. By virtue of their geographical position, they obviously fear a possible military conflict more, and it is more difficult for their economies to bear the burdens of the arms race. They are more dependent on economic relations with the socialist countries." He says that, "In contrast to the United States, the decisive majority of the capitalist countries continue to assert the need to pursue a policy of detente and manifest their interests in preserving East-West relations."

Gyenes criticzes China's international conduct, which "intensifies the uncertainty of international conditions and strenghens negative trends." In connection with the developing world, he says that the socialist countries' support for progressive social changes and imperialist intervention to halt objective processes of development "have an unfavorable impact on relations between the two world systems, enhance international tension and impose difficulties on the detente process."

Gyenes reiterates the Hungarian People's Republic's commitment to preserving world peace, consolidating international security, strengthening good relations and cooperation among peoples and countries, and promoting the cause of social progress and socialism and its active participation in CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. He notes that "restraining the arms race and lowering the level of military confrontation is a vital task of coordinated socialist foreign policy."

He reviews at length Warsaw Pact proposals and initiatives toward reducing worldwide military tension, and the socialist countries' efforts to resolve disputed issues and crises through negotiations. He stresses Hungary's readiness to strengthen bilateral relations and develop economic ties.

Gyenes concludes that the "international situation will remain tense also in the coming years," despite which, however, "facilities are at hand to prevent a world war and to ensure a peaceful future of mankind."

PDRY PRESIDENT MUHAMMAD CONTINUES VISIT

Factory Visit With Losonczi

LD041946 Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Excerpt] Budapest, 4 Nov (MTI) -- The Yemeni party and state delegation, on an official friendly visit in Hungary under 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, prime minister, today called at the "BHG" telecommunication works in the company of Pal Losonczi, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and president of the Presidential Council.

PDRY Delegation Holds Talks

LD051000 Budapest MTI in English 0617 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Text] Budapest, 4 Nov (MTI) -- Several members of the delegation accompanying A.N. Muhammad, the leader of the PDR of Yemen -- on an official visit here -- had talks with their Hungarian partners.

Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai, member of the HSWP CC, saw H.A.B. al-'Attas, member of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) CC and minister of construction [ministry as received], and Y.S. Numan, candidate member of the YSP PC [Political Bureau] and deputy planning minister. They discussed the ways and means of promoting bilateral economic ties.

Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP CC and head of the Foreign Affairs Department at the CC, had talks with A. Shayi Hadi, candidate member of the YSP PC. They reviewed issues in inter-party cooperation and expressed the readiness to promote the relations of the two parties.

Frigyes Puja, member of the HSWP and foreign minister, met S.S. Muhammad, member of the YSP CC and foreign minister. They reviewed key issues in world affairs with special reference to the Mideast, the Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Problems of peace and security in Europe also featured high.

Peter Veress, member of the HSWP CC and foreign trade minister had talks with H.A.B. al-'Attas and Y.S. Numan on how to further bilateral trading links.

Cooperation Agreement Signed

LD051150 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Text] Hungary and People's Yemen concluded a treaty of friendship and cooperation. The document, which lays down the principles of political, economic, cultural and technical-scientific cooperation, was signed by Pal Losonczi and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad. Afterwards the two ministers of foreign affairs initialed a consular agreement and an agreement about the partial abolition of the need for visas. Apart from this, the two delegations concluded an agreement about the further expansion of more concrete forms of economic cooperation. Janos Kadar was present at the signing of the documents.

The visit by the party and state delegation of People's Yemen was concluded with a farewell ceremony in Lajos Kossuth Square. The guests were then accompanied to Ferihegy Airport by Janos Kadar and Pal Losonczi. The delegation, headed by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, left.

JEWISH WORLD CONGRESS DELEGATION VISITS

AU031502 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Oct 81 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Representatives of the Jewish World Congress in Budapest"]

[Text] As guests of the National Representation of Hungarian Jews [MIOK], leaders of the European chapter of the Jewish World Congress, led by Chairman Dr Mauricze Grynfogel, have arrived in our country.

They visited several institutes of the Hungarian Jewish Church and had talks with MIOK leaders. The delegation was received by Istvan Straub, deputy chairman of the state office for church affairs. MIOK President Imre Heber was present.

MEETING COMMEMORATES KADAR GOVERNMENT FOUNDING

Banta Speaks

LD032126 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government was formed in Szolnok 25 years ago. On this occasion, a festive county council session was held this morning. Tamas Forro reports from Szolnok:

It is a historical fact that the revolutionary forces of the besieged Hungarian People's Republic declared from here, on 4 November 1956, their counteroffensive for the victory of socialist Hungary. This is inscribed on a marble plaque at the headquarters of the Szolnok County Council where 25 years ago the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government was formed under the leadership of Janos Kadar. This historical event of 25 years ago, of great significance in our country's life, was commemorated in Szolnok at a festive council meeting this morning.

Mihaly Korom, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and Janos Borbandi, deputy premier, were in the meeting's presidium.

Laszlo Barta, chairman of the Szolnok County Council, recalled in his festive speech the days of 25 years ago. On 4 November 1956 the radio broadcast from here, from Szolnok, the appeal of the newly-formed government which called on our country's people to defeat the counterrevolution, continue socialist construction and resume production. He spoke about the path travelled during the past 25 years which led to a transformation of our country's society, economy and the life of the people.

In his speech, Mihaly Korom spoke about the policy which, under our party's leadership and with our people's support, is conducted in our country, the Hungarian People's Republic. He also spoke about tasks, the preservation of our results to date, the strengthening of social and political unity, the development of socialist democracy, the modernization of our economic system and the shaping of our people's consciousness.

As a concluding act of the celebration, a wreath was laid at the memorial marble plaque at the headquarters of the Szolnok County Council.

Korom Speaks

LD032356 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The Szolnok County Council held a festive meeting today to mark the 25th anniversary of the formation of the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government. Tamas Forro reports with some excerpts from voice recordings:

[Forro] In his speech Dr Mihaly Korom spoke about the policies guided by our party and supported by our people.

[Begin Korom recording] The program announced in the first few days of November 1956 and the political line shaped on the basis of that program have determined the essence and main elements of our policy pursued over the past 25 years. Our policy is rooted in that program. It is a principled policy based firmly on the grounds of Marxism-Leninism, which it has been consistently asserting. At the same time, it has taken into account the lessons to be learned from the mistakes committed as well as the domestic and international experiences in the construction of socialism.

The declaration and conduct of the struggle, waged on two fronts, have resulted in a recognition of the fact that a deviation, in whatever direction, from Marxism-Leninism and the violation of Leninist norms cause serious damage and, therefore, it is a permanent duty to take a stand against these.

The defeat of the counterrevolution, the leading of the country out of the crisis and then the speedy realization of consolidation were fundamentally made possible by the fact that the party had been able to win over and mobilize substantial masses of people within a short space of time. The renewal of the party's policy of alliance and the placing of relations between the party and the masses on new foundations, based on mutual esteem and trust, were indispensable preconditions for this. The party shaped its policy of alliance and the principles and practice of its relations with the masses, which are still valid today, in an extremely difficult situation. This ensured the fact that the basic masses of the working class and of the working peasantry remained supporters of socialism even during the toughest times and that the forces of counterrevolution were quickly shown in their true colors and that the people, who had been misled, soon realized the mistake they had made.

It has been proved by 1956, too, that a people who had committed themselves to the cause of socialism would stand by it even in a difficult situation and that if they have a dedicated revolutionary leader then there cannot be and there is no force that can oppose them with a chance of victory. [end recording]

[Forro] This is how Dr Mihaly Korom continued his speech:

[Begin Korom Recording] Dear comrades: today, as we look back at the events of 25 years ago and at the path travelled since, we received strength and faith from the results we have achieved. We are looking froward to the future with confidence, even if we have difficult and complex tasks facing us, because we can, together and in cooperation, carry them out. We are successfully implementing in all walks of life the tasks contained in the resolutions of the 12th MSZMP Congress. [end recording]

BRIEFS

FACTORY EQUIPMENT FOR USSR -- Budapest, 28 October (MTI) -- The Chemokomplex Hungarian Trading Company of machines and equipment for the chemical industry will supply machinery in the value of over 30 million rubles for a new, 20,000 tonnes a year, epoxy resin factory, to be built near Leningrad. This will be one of the biggest such export deals of Chemokomplex with the Soviet Union. [Excerpt] [Budapest MTI in English 1806 GMT 28 Oct 81 LD]

JARUZELSKI, GLEMP, WALESA MEETING HELD 4 NOV

Front of Agreement Discussed

LD041906 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1845 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] On 4 November a meeting took place in Warsaw between Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, and Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity.

In the course of the meeting views were exchanged on ways of overcoming the crisis in which the country has found itself and on possibilities for the setting up of a front of national agreement -- a permanent platform for dialogue and consultation between political and social forces based on the constitutional precepts of the Polish People's Republic.

The meeting was considered as useful and at the same time as preparatory for further business-like consultations.

AFP Reports on Meeting

NC041904 Paris AFP in English 1902 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Nov (AFP) -- The leaders of the three main forces in Poland -- Solidarity union chief Lech Walesa, Communist Party Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski and the Polish Roman Catholic Primate Jozef Glemp -- held an unprecedented meeting here today to discuss the country's plight.

The meeting, the first ever of its kind in Poland, was held at a government residence opposite the Soviet Embassy and was viewed here as an attempt to reach a "historic compromise" on an approach to solving the country's pressing problems.

Secret negotiations preceeded the meeting. While there was no word of whether any sort of agreement might be reached, it seemed unlikely the talks would have gone ahead had there been no inkling of success.

No details have been released on the nature of the discussions. But observers here believe they might have centered on proposals made to parliament Friday by Gen Jaruzelski which included a call for "a council of national consultation" to prepare for the next elections and the creation of a government "advisory council."

Gen Jaruzelski had indicated he was counting on Solidarity and the church to enlarge the basis on which power is exercised in Poland.

Such a goal has been staunchly opposed by Communist Party hardliners who seek to preserve the regime's ideological purity. Today's meeting raised the question of whether Gen Jaruzelski had managed to turn them around or whether he was simply overruling them.

The Central Committee secretary responsible for ideology, Stefan Olszowski, is currently in Moscow for an ideological conference. The coincidence might indicate he has gone to Moscow to brief brother communist parties on the government's initiative, or that his absence was seized upon as an opportunity to act. However, Mr Olszowski has himself called for a regrouping of all segments of Polish society.

Mr Walesa will probably also have trouble in rallying support from Solidarity hardliners. His departure from Gdansk this morning ruffled a few feathers among the union's top leaders, some of whom reproached him for going over their heads and rushing into negotiations.

But Mr Walesa might also strengthen his position by negotiating. He recently played a key part in ending two strikes, and Solidarity members are well aware that wildcat strikes threaten both the union's unity and its grass-roots support.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI CITES BREZHNEV REMARKS

LD041500 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] "The well-known interview which Leonid Brezhnev granted to the West-German weekly DER SPIEGEL is a weighty and comprehensive document."

"In the interview, the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet answered questions relating to crucial current international problems, notably the situation in Europe. One question posed by the weekly concerned Soviet evaluation of the developments in Poland and the Soviet attitude towards normalization of the situation in Poland. The reply given by the Soviet leader is closely related to the standpoint expressed by Leonid Brezhnev on the key issues of the current international situation," wrote ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

The daily went on: "Looking at the answers given by the CPSU secretary general from the Polish point of view, we notice above all the basic concurrence of viewpoints held by the Soviet Government with the standpoint on these matters consistently expounded by People's Poland in the world forum. This stems from the deepest concurrence of the state interests of our countries as indeed from the struggle being waged by the entire socialist community for the supreme cause of strengthening peace and developing international cooperation."

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI concluded: "Leonid Brezhnev said it clearly that for the Soviet Union, Poland is a friend, a good neighbour and an ally. The Soviet Union, acting as an ally and friend, is also trying to help Poland overcome the economic difficulties by providing as much assistance in this field as it can."

"What else, from the Polish point of view, can one say but express deepest satisfaction at the declaration given by the leader of an allied socialist power. We are well aware that the friendship of that big power is expressed not in words alone and is the guarantee of our peaceful development. The socialist class Solidarity, as well as the already mentioned profound concurrence of the most vital national and state interests constitute the unshakable mainstay of our friendship. He who tries to undermine this friendship aims above all against Poland's security. We will not allow this to happen."

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON SOLIDARITY KK PLENUM

Draft Resolution Discussed

LD041938 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] [Announcer] Here is a report from our Gdansk correspondent:

[Correspondent] Just before the end of the first day of deliberations, the Commission for Resolutions and Proposals of the National Commission [KK] of the NSZZ Solidarity presented an eight-point draft resolution which assesses the current situation in Poland. The first five points concern actions by the authorities which led, in the resolution's interpretation, to an increase in tension and to the outbreak of local strikes.

The last three points concern essential [meritoryczny] matters linked with setting up workforce and local self-management and the readiness to enter into talks, taking as a starting point the statements by Premier Jaruzelski contained in his speech at the last Sejm session.

The discussion of the draft resolution, postponed until today, brought a rejection by the plenum of all the formulas contained in it as not corresponding enough to the spirit of agreement. For this reason the representative of Lower Silesia Solidarity introduced an alternative draft, in which stress was laid first and foremost on cooperation with the government. This draft, after a vote had been taken, became the basic material for the compilation of a new resolution by the Commission for Resolutions and Proposals.

Individual wordings are still being discussed. However, it is worth adding that in the Lower Silesia draft five objectives are specified which the union should be aiming at now. Here are extensive excerpts from them:

[Unidentified speaker] [Begin recording] We think that the union should, with all its strength, get down to implement the program tasks and that its activities should be coordinated by the KK and its Presidium.

The most urgent thing in this field is, in our opinion, implementation of five basic objectives.

Objective One: anticrisis measures. Trade union echelons at all levels should concentrate on activities aimed (?at) improving supplies of food to the nation and basic commodities; and increasing coal extraction and its just distribution.

Objective Two: social control over the economy. Previous experience shows that an improvement in market supplies of basic commodities cannot be achieved without systematic control over the production and distribution of those goods. Neither the social consultative council nor the government's operational groups are able to ensure that control. Successful and systematic control can only be performed by workers' self-management; hence, the union branches of all levels should as soon as possible bring about the creation of a network of workers' self-management.

Objective Three: openness of public life. In accordance with the August accords, we should firmly demand that the mass media become communal property with access by Solidarity to radio and television. In this respect, on one day in the whole of Poland streets and walls of all work enterprises should begin to speak. [sentence as heard] The operation under the slogan: "We will come out from behind the walls when we can be heard on radio and seen on television screens" -- should be carried out until successful. [sentence as heard]

Objective Four: the union cannot operate in a legal vacuum. The most urgent task is to enforce the proper bill on trade unions, and for its speedy passing by the Sejm. Also, the way the union makes contact with the authorities and the authorities with the union should be settled legally. These matters cannot be governed by whims for they partially enter into the bill on open social consultation, the draft of which should be approved by Solidarity.

Objective Five: elections to the People's Councils and the Sejm. Urgent work has been started on the union's draft of the reform of the system of representation -- election procedures for the People's Councils and the Sejm. Preparatory work will be undertaken in regions for election campaigns. [end recording]

[Announcer] It can be said that, generally, the spirit of accord prevails and that debates aim toward national concord.

Meeting Ends; Resolutions Passed

LD042350 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] The National Commission [KK] of Solidarity ended its deliberations tonight. During the second day of debates in Gdansk, a resolution was passed on the solving of local conflicts.

It was decided to set up several-man negotiating groups with the participation of representatives of the KK, which will be sent to individual regions to resolve local conflicts which are still persisting there.

A resolution was also passed making it binding on the KK Presidium to accelerate work on working out a new kind of strike: the active strike [strajk czynny].

There was also a discussion of the government's proposed price rises. The majority of speakers took a critical stand on the proposed rates.

The KK also took a stand on the incidents in the Sosnowiec colliery and stated that it is a regrettable example of controlling by tension and fear.

The KK also accused the authorities of slowness in acting to break through the atmosphere of conflict, but also expressed recognition for the attitude of the Sosnowiec miners, for their restraint and for not spreading the protest beyond the workplace.

Further on Decisions

LD050102 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The debate of the National Commission [KK] of NSZZ Solidarity ended in Gdansk tonight. The KK expressed the opinion that the employees who took part in the 1-hour general strike on 28 October this year are eligible for full remuneration for the period of its duration. During the deliberations there was also discussion of the situation in building construction and the government's proposed price rises.

The KK put the regional boards under the obligation to hold elections for regional self-managements up to 7 December of this year and to (?hold) a referendum among workforces on the enterprise and employee self-management acts.

A new form of struggle for union access to the mass media was announed. It is proposed that on 10 November a poster and leaflet campaign should begin.

It was announced that the union's draft election regulations will be presented to society. A resolution [word indistinct] (?either) thematic scope. There was a warning in this resolution that if, in the course of 3 months, the agreed topics are not jointly solved, then the KK will appeal to union members to take statutory action, up to and including a general strike.

CONTROVERSY OVER JURCZYK SPEECH CONTINUES

KK Spokesman Comments

LD041536 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] According to PAP, Marek Brunne, press spokesman of the National Commission (KK) of Solidarity, commenting on the speech in Trzebiatow by Marian Jurczyk, chairman of Solidarity of West Pomerania region, stated that Jurczyk's speech does not represent the official KK stance. He said that the commission does not censor statements by its members. He also added that the KK has no official stand on any issue until it assembles and adopts an appropriate statement. Perhaps the KK will not deal with this matter at all, because an official communique on starting an investigation by the Prosecutor's Office has been announced.

Szczecin TU on 'Attacks'

LD041636 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1230 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Szczecin, 4 Nov (PAP) -- The publication of the text of Jurczyk's speech made in Trzebiatow created a wave of protests by Solidarity members in Szczecin. The statement issued by the Factory Committee of NSZZ Solidarity at the Szczecin Warski Shipyard reads, among other things: For several days the authorities, television, press and radio have been conducting hysterical attacks against Jurczyk. Mass media in a tendentious and liberal way are quoting excerpts out of context and distorting their sense and meaning. The actions of the authorities and mass media bear characteristics of a provocation by the same forces which led to events in Bydgoszcz, Katowice and Wroclaw.

The same authorities, the statement reads, which initiated an investigation against Jurczyk have turned a deaf ear to the general demands for bringing to justice perpetrators of the most severe crimes against the nation: those guilty of killing workers in Poznan in 1956, those guilty of the death of workers on the coast in December 1970, those guilty of brutal encounters with the workers in Ursus and Radom in June 1976, and those guilty of bringing the country to its present dramatic economic, social and political situation.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Criticism

AU041618 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 2 Nov 81 p 2

[M.N. commentary: "Dreams of a Szczecin Clairvoyant"]

[Text] The first item of the protocol that was signed between the Interfactory Strike Committee in Szczecin and the government commission on 30 August 1980 reads: "It was agreed that self-governing trade unions, which will be socialist in character in line with the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, will be allowed to be organized." Further the protocol lists specific wage and housing problems and issues that are to be discussed and settled by certain deadlines. The protocol was signed inter alia by Marian Jurczyk, chairman of the Interfactory Strike Committee in Szczecin.

Since that protocol and other similar documents, known as social agreements, were signed, 14 months have gone by during which some regional and central activists of Solidarity have undergone a great evolution: They have gradually changed from trade unionists into politicians. Marian Jurczyk underwent such a change with great speed, and TV viewers were able to study his aggressiveness and arrogance during a televised discussion session before the Solidarity congress. During that session he also allowed himself to hurl gross insults at Deputy Premier Rakowski, and even Lech Walesa had to constrain him. During the Solidarity congress Jurczyk also proved by his statements that he belongs to that group of adventurers within the Solidarity leadership who, for the sake of their pathological political ambitions, brutally violate the social agreements they signed.

As a member of the Solidarity National Council and as the chairman the Solidarity regional board in Szczecin, Marian Jurczyk not so long ago launched mainly into demonstrating political adventurism at a meeting in the Trzebiatow furniture plant, proclaiming that the "honeymoon is over." He then outlined to the meeting not a plan for trade union activity, but how Solidarity will take over power in our country.

What is the justification for this line of Solidarity activity? According to Jurczyk, Sejm deputies and members of the government are "traitors of the Polish nation" and an "agency of Moscow." It is thus obvious to him that such people must not continue to run the state and therefore must surrender power to "worthy hands," that is, into the hands of Jurczyk and people like him.

Moreover, according to this candidate for power, the party is in disarray, and if the party is in disarray, then the people's power ceases to exist. In such a situation dreamed of by Jurczyk, someone must see to it that the country is governed, and this someone must be no other than Solidarity itself.

These revelations are a clear indication of why Solidarity extremists made such intensive efforts to weaken the party prior to its ninth congress. They no doubt expected that the party would finally disintegrate during the congress debates. Against the expectations of people like Jurczyk, the party not only did not disintegrate, but, on the contrary, consolidated its ranks at the congress and gained strength, which frayed the nerves of Solidarity adventurers who showed their discontent by launching new attacks against the party and organizing the first demonstrations in the streets. And when at its Fourth Plenum the Central Committee once again supplied proof of its unity and its resolve to consistently continue the process of socialist renewal and overcoming the crisis, Solidarity extremists again whipped up a great wave of unrest throughout the country, hypocritically claiming that this unrest was a spontaneous protest by the working people.

In his speech at Trzebiatow, Jurczyk -- consciously or unconsciously -- unmasked the lies about the spontaneous strikes, which are allegedly impossible to end. But these supposedly "spontaneous" protests have a clear aim: primarily to disintegrate the party. And if it were possible to do that, then it would be easy to ban party organizations from plants because, Jurczyk said arbitrarily, "the party must not run the economy" but he would graciously allow it to operate "in towns or some settlements only."

The power apparatus, which according to Jurczyk, is "a Moscow agency," takes everything out of the country "to Moscow on military trucks and helicopters." This is supposed to be one of the reasons for food shortages in Poland. At this point we should recall that in the spring of this year stubborn efforts were made to circulate the reports on the supposed concealment of food in order to compel the people to toe the state authorities' line by making them hungry. However, after Solidarity representatives had carried out the necessary control checks, it turned out that those reports were just fairy tales cooked up by irresponsible propagandists. But, in consequence, that fairy tale proved very costly because it outraged the people and mobilized them for protest actions. At present Jurczyk has launched a similar fairy tale to the public, though with a greater modicum of perfidy. In Trzebiatow he wailed that the troops, over which Solidarity has no control, had a hand in taking food out of the country. That is why "we are and will be unable to settle this issue because no one will fight the Armed Forces."

Thanks to such a fairy tale about the removal of food from Poland, Jurczyk will have a pretext for putting forward a new demand -- instituting control over the Armed Forces. However, he knows in advance that this will not be done, which is why he will be able to make longer use of his latest fairy tale than he was able to make of that spring tale about concealment of food in some warehouses.

So there is a new "argument" to stir up public unrest, to incite people to various protests, including the substantiation of Jurczyk's thesis that "Poland should be a neutral country." A few months ago, the outrageous idea of transforming Poland into another Japan was put into circulation. Now Jurczyk would like to turn our country into another Switzerland.

But how to achieve all that? The chief of Szczecin Solidarity has a plan for realizing his designs. First of all, he intends to settle accounts with the authorities. "Maybe," he speculates, "it will be necessary to build gallows and to hang some people. In my opinion, for example, it would not do any harm to build a few gallows." Moreover, that scheme has a moral basis. The prototypes of such tools of crime were presented at the Festival of "True Songs" held in August in Oliwa under the artistic direction of Adrzej Wajda, chairman of the Association of Polish Cinematographers. Thus Jurczyk's daydreams about the settling of bloody accounts with the past and the present times have a "humane and artistic" basis. "We must do our utmost," that bloodthirsty visionary from Szczecin said, "so that not a single drop of blood will ever shed on our soil" (as soon as accounts are settled at the gallows).

Jurczyk's daydreams compel us to look back into history because the epithets applied by him to communists sound as if they are being replayed from old records made by the most reactionary figures of the period before, during and soon after the war.

Those were precisely the times when the extreme rightwing propaganda constantly repeated anticommunist epithets and threats which were shamefully symbolized by Bereza Kartuska [concentration camp in prewar Poland] and the fratricidal assassination of leftwing figures during the war.

Jurczyk not only repeats the old rightwing and reactionary slogans, but also aspires to implement them as soon as possible, even this year. "I do not support strikes," he told the collective of the Trzebiatow furniture factory, "because they cause losses. Let us not deceive each other because this is the truth," he admitted. Thus in his views on strikes he completely differs from his Mazowsze region companion who less than 3 months ago tried to prove that strikes only insignificantly reduced production and had no effect on the supply of goods to the market.

But no one must have any illusions that Jurczyk would yield to appeals for national understanding. Not at all. Along with other extremists, he has designed a higher form of protest -- an active strike. What is it like? "Normal production is continuing," he explained to his audience in Trzebiatow, "the only difference being that the enterprise concerned is being run by the strike committee."

The combination of various measures should bring Jurczyk to his goal, and very soon at that. "I believe," he announced, "that this year must be decisive. There must be a convulsion." In other words, he thinks that the unrest we have had in our country is not enough. Thus he forecasts a new, higher and stronger wave of political adventurism that should be brought about primarily by active strikes. And the goal is obvious. "We need a convulsion," Jurczyk said, "to seize power." As simple and clear as that. And it should be admitted that Jurczyk is sincere and unambiguously hostile to people's power and socialism, while the others act likewise, though surreptitiously.

The slander, the spreading of lies and demagogy practiced by the enemies of people's rule are particularly dangerous in the present situation of great dissatisfaction among the people caused by shortages in the supplies of basic necessities. Fatigued and irritated, people easily yield to public demagogy. Jurczyk is not the only one to grossly break the August 1980 social accords. He is not the only one who, instead of minding his trade union business, consistently seeks to make his bloodthirsty vision come true.

Jurczyk's adventurous speech delivered in Trzebiatow was resolutely condemned at the Saturday Sejm session. Madmen, it was emphasized, must be overpowered in time, in the name of the supreme interest -- social calm.

REPORTAGE ON REGIONAL STRIKE ACTIVITIES

Report on Lubogora Strike

LD042344 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] The ministerial commission led by Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Andrzej Kacala has compiled a report on the reasons for the declaration and course of the sit-in strike at the Lubogora agricultural establishment which belongs to the Swiebodzin agricultural combine.

In the preliminary section of the report the backdrop to the conflict, its phases, the escalation of demands and the attempts to resolve it are discussed in detail. The report then contains a summary of the activities of the ministerial commission which began its work on 27 October.

On the basis of the talks conducted with the sides involved in the conflict the ministerial commission has presented the following conclusions:

1. The declaration of the strike in Lubogora took place without the means, stipulated in the Warsaw agreement of 30 March of this year on the subject of resolving conflicts, above all by adherence to the law, having previously exhausted.

2. The examination of the charges made by the strike committee against the directors of the Lubogora agricultural establishment should be carried out in accordance with the legal regulations.

3. The authorities of Zielona Gora Voivodship undertook many comprehensive efforts, including mediation efforts such as talks with the Solidarity regional board and the strike committee during which they submitted proposals for solutions in accordance with the regulations in force in order to resolve the conflict in Lubogora.

Zielona Gora Strike Continues

LD051048 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Text] Protest strike action in sympathy with the strike at the Lubogora agricultural enterprise continues in the majority of work enterprises in Zielona Gora Voivodishp. Today, municipal buses in Zielona Gora are staying in the depots.

Talks Resumed in Radom

LD041500 Warsaw PAP in English 1416 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Nov (PAP) -- The talks conducted by a government commission and Radom Solidarity chapter on postulates put forth by Radom Solidarity's plenary meeting last March, which were interrupted on August 28, were resumed today.

Solidarity asked that solution of the strike in the Radom Engineering College, which lasts since October 26, be included on the agenda and requested the arrival of the minister of justice to take part in the talks.

After preliminary discussion the parties agreed to adjourn the meeting to work out their positions on the continuation of the talks.

Further on Radom Talks

LD042226 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] After a break of 2 months, talks were resumed in Radom today between a negotiating group of Radom Solidarity and a government commission. The government side is headed by Tadeusz Kulikowski, director of the Investments Department at the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection, and the Radom delegation by (Jan Rejczak), vice chairman of the Interfactory Workers Committee.

Our correspondent (Andrzej Madrzycki) writes that essential differences have already emerged in the initial phase of the dialogue. Solidarity has taken the view that the first (?issue) of the talks should be the conflict at the Radom Engineering College, the background of which relates to the person of the newly-elected college rector. As is well known, this matter has been the cause of the sit-in strike at the rectorate building announced by the Solidarity commission at the college and begun last Monday.

The government side stated that the success of the negotiations depends on the implementation of the previously approved agenda of the talks. The putting forward of additional issues as part of an emergency procedure [w trybie awaryjnum] makes it impossible to familiarize oneself in any depth with the complex matters. The government commission has familiarized itself with the strike demands.

After a 2-hour break, both sides issued statements. Solidarity stated, among other things, that the government and the ministry had not displayed sufficient interest in the conflict at the Radom college and that in the opinion of the union this is in contradiction with the social line of agreement. In this connection, Solidarity demands the immediate arrival in Radom of a plenipotentiary representative of the government. The government document, on the other hand, states that the sit-in strike is not in accordance with the law and that intervention by a government commission in the college conflict would violate the autonomy of the college and also constitute a violation of the electoral will of the college authorities and of the sociopolitical organizations active at the college.

During the talks Andrzej Sobieraj, chairman of Radom Solidarity, conveyed the stance of the Solidarity Consultative Commission on the strike at the Radom college. The commission recognizes the justified reasons for the protest and expects the strike to be supported by academic centers throughout the country.

Sosnowiec Strike Continues

LD041906 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] The Sosnowiec colliery strike continues. Our correspondent has learned from the party factory committee that a proposal was submitted at yesterday's mass meeting suggesting a referendum on the continuation of the strike.

The strike committee did not adopt any stance on this proposal and resolved that the workforce should decide on it. That is why a vote was taken last night by the miners on the second shift and today by those who worked the night shift. Out of 1,500 persons only 25 were in favor the referendum while 5 abstained and the rest opposed it.

Thus the strike continues, and as stated by a representative of the strike committee, the main obstacle to the resumption of talks with the voivodship authorities is the choice of the venue for those talks. The Katowice voivoda wants to have the meeting in the municipal office in Sosnowiec and not in the colliery as demanded by the strikers.

Sosnowiec Mediation Rejected

LD051230 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Excerpts] The strike in the Sosnowiec colliery continues. Yesterday, on the eighth day of the strike, a special commission headed by the Katowice Deputy Voivoda Hubert Iglus was prevented from entering the mine. This was the fourth mediation attempt by the administration authorities to be rejected by the strikers. They are demanding a television press conference, compensation for the victims of the incident, and attendance at the mine by the Katowice voivoda.

The strike committee maintains stiff discipline throughout the colliery: A drunken miner has been fired, gambling card games have been banned. Ten people are still in the hospital, but eight of them are being treated for diseases which have nothing to do with the poisoning.

It emerges from information obtained from the press spokesman at the Citizens' Militia voivodship headquarters in Katowice that the militia is vigorously investigatin the incident. The militia make every effort to apprehend the perpetrators of the barbarian act.

The Sosnowiec PZPR municipal committee plenary meeting began at 1000 today.

Talks Show Progress in Nowotko

LD041408 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] In the Nowotko steel plants in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, the first round of talks between the directorate of the steel plants, representatives of the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering Industry and the plant workers committee of Solidarity have been held.

Both sides agreed to postpone further talks until 9 November. Representatives of the voivodship will participate in the 9 November talks.

The plant workers committee of Solidarity has called off strike readiness in the steel plants because of the satisfactory progress of the talks.

Gorzow Taxi Drivers Protest

LD050810 Koszalin Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Excerpts] Yesterday evening about 200 Gorzow taxi drivers blocked the main intersection near the cathedral on the international route E-14. Traffic at this Gorzow bottleneck was stopped. The taxi drivers blocked the intersection to demand that the supply of fuel be maintained.

This morning the drivers were no longer blocking the intersection, but their taxis remain on some neighboring streets.

The authorities cannot guarantee the supply of gasoline because it is supplied from outside in accordance with the distribution list.

COMMENTARY: SOLIDARITY MORE THAN TRADE UNION

PM041541 Brussels LE SOIR in French 1-2 Nov 81 pp 1, 3

[Article by Polish writer and journalist Stefan Kisielewski: "The Polish Gamble"]

[Text] Knowing what is happening in Poland is vital for the West, which may sometimes be confused by the similarity of the titles given to various organizations on either side of the Iron Curtain -- organizations which, however, in our countries represent something specific and totally different from those existing in the West. I am, of course, thinking primarily of Solidarity, which has 10 million members and is not, as people in the West would sometimes like to believe, a purely trade union movement whose sole objective is to defend the workers' material interests. Of course, that is one of its functions, but in our totalitarian and authoritarian regime that inevitably spills over into the very foundations of the system until now controlled by the omnipotent party which for many years concentrated all economic and political power in the hands of a restricted leadership.

Whatever the intentions of its founders, the birth of Solidarity, secured by strikes and faits accomplis, produced a revolutionary political upheaval unheard of in Eastern Europe, where any such attempt had always been suppressed by Russia quickly and by force: Berlin 1953; Budapest 1956; Prague 1968. Since Yalta (and today since Helsinki, too), Europe has grown accustomed to regarding that as internal Soviet affairs.

However, the latest Polish revolution has already been going on for a year and is inevitably turning into a revolt against the totalitarian system.

Poland has been subjected to a purely Soviet experiment which has been producing frightening results in the USSR for years. However, the poverty of the USSR, cut off from the world, moves no one any more than the vast purchases of grain by that country, which was once Europe's main grain exporter.

Poland's bankruptcy, however, is being dramatically displayed for all to see owing to the rash marriage of its economy with the Western market and owing to the many crazy measures taken in Poland itself. The capitalists, anxious to help socialism in the hope of taming it, have unintentionally revealed its economic absurdity. And the Polish system has now been completely dismantled in the space of 1 year.

What to put in its place is both the question behind and the explanation for what is now happening in Poland. A new system must be invented, a political-economic entity to replace the previous useless and wasteful system now bankrupt. But there is one small question: Will the Kremlin accept this change in system even if it is cautiously called a change of model? Will Moscow be prepared to tolerate in its geopolitical bloc a different country whose political model is determined not dictatorially by the communist party but by independent social groups?

These two questions contain the whole problem. They cover everything. As for the political and social system, Solidarity can swear by all that is holy that it is still "socialist" (what does that mean?), but changes are inevitable.

The great revolutionary process is only beginning, and the change could take years. Who knows? Solidarity began it, but how can we tell who will finish it? At present everybody agrees that it is necessary to revive private agriculture, small and medium-sized enterprises and services, that it is necessary to struggle against the doctrinaire and conservative party apparatus. But what is to be done with the state-owned, bureaucratic heavy industry; where can managers, administrators, indeed owners be found for it? The reformers, sitting on commissions and theorizing on the "socialist economy" are impotent; as is the case with many other political problems, the decision rests with society. It is not yet aware of its strength or sure of itself, but its will is swelling like a mountain stream in spring. The party will not be able to curb it by its feeble ideological arguments or by the force of its policy, which, moreover, is doubtful. It only has one course left: to given way discreetly on various issues and resist on the vital points, brandish the threat of Moscow, of intervention and the "end of national existence."

This raises the crucial question: Is there any foundation for this threat, which the people do not seem to take too seriously? Is it inevitable? In other words, can the USSR change? Can it turn into a "normal" imperialist state, abandon its ideological expansion and consequently give up the political guarantees with which it is provided by the dictatorship of the parties in the subject countries? Can any country in East Europe snatch from it quasi-Finnish status; in other words, partnership relations and an alliance which is not determined by system?

This is an extremely difficult question to answer. Can Russia abandon its ideological expansionism which has brought it so much success, if only in the Third World? Can it tolerate an ideological schism in its own camp and on its own borders?

The men in the Kremlin have shown great flexibility. Let us not forget that they are cool chess players who know how to calculate the price of the risk. Do they even understand the psychological complexity of the Polish situation, and will they be able to deviate from the conservative routine of their 60-year-old party? We in Poland do not know, especially since relations with the USSR are officially conducted at the "supreme" and highly secret level of the party hierarchy.

On the other hand, we are perfectly well informed about the Soviet Army's maneuvers on our borders, on the Moscow press, radio and television attacks, on the boycott of tourist travel and recently on the so-called economic blockade. We take note of the Kremlin's warning letters and threats.

However, this is not the worst thing. The fact that the Kremlin has decided to intimidate and exhaust us, that it has launched this war of nerves proves that it has not decided to launch a rapid and general military intervention, as in Afghanistan.

That intervention would be extremely bloody because the resistance would not fail to be mounted. The men in the Kremlin, who are good tacticians, seem to have calculated that the risk would be too great in the era of Reagan and the Polish papacy....

The Poles have never managed to choose a propitious time and international context for their insurrections, and they have paid dearly for that. For once the time just arose, and moreover it was an excellent one.... But how long will it last?

A great deal depends on the West and its understanding of what is really at stake in Poland. It depends on the awareness that it is not just a question of trade unions and their status or of material and social problems but of everything.

I have been on a visit to the West for a while and have observed the frightened consternation caused by Solidarity's appeal to workers in the other communist countries. Indeed, it can be regarded as dangerous from the tactical viewpoint, pointlessly giving the Russians the impression that the whole Yalta order is threatened. But it also makes it possible to evaluate the importance of what is at stake in the Polish game. And it suggests that caution is necessary on both sides. It there were a bloodbath in Poland, could it fail to have repercussions in the other Eastern bloc countries? The world is a whole today, and Europe is small....

INTERVIEW: WALESA READY FOR TALKS 'ANY MOMENT'

AU041118 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 17 Oct 81 pp 1, 6

[Andrzej K. Wroblewski interview with Lech Walesa, Solidarity chairman: "I believe in Commonsense" -- dated "Gdansk, 6 October 1981" and published with the following editorial note: "Since Lech Walesa has left for France and had no time to endorse the interview, we publish it from the recorded tape without his authorization"]

[Text] [Question] Almost a year ago, we were the second Polish periodical (POLITYKA, Issue No 44/80) to interview you. At that time you said: "We will raise no political programs, and under no circumstances will implement them." Would you say the same today?

[Answer] Yes, I would, but only adding who forced us to embark upon the political path. For example, if no people were imprisoned for political reasons, we would have had no need to respond to that fact. Besides, we would have reacted if people were imprisoned for other convictions, for example, communist ones.

[Question] But your reaction, for example, to the increased prices of cigarettes was also political. In the congress discussion it was said that the prices of stimulants should not be compensated for. You do not act against the increases, but against the government. You obstruct governing. After all, the authorities cannot run to Solidarity with every intended move and ask for consent, because in such a case whoever gives his consent, rules.

[Answer] The government must sense the public atmosphere. It is tense. Our congress is in progress. The government could have done this [increase prices] before or after, but not during the proceedings.

[Question] Does this mean that if the government increased prices earlier, between the two stages of the congress, you would have accepted them?

[Answer] If we saw the whole package of proposals and were able to state our position on television to the effect that today we must accept one thing, but tomorrow we will have another one, there would have been no problem. Instead, the government not only chose a wrong moment, but also followed the line of least resistance: price increases. But what in exchange?

[Question] But that point was explained: reducing demand and decreasing an imbalance in the budget.

[Answer] Those explanations did not convince our trade unionists. We do not trust the government in advance, and certainly this is hardly surprising.

[Question] The case today is of cigarettes, yesterday it was the route of the Warsaw motorcade, and tomorrow it may be a referendum... The large number of those conflicts forced Deputy Premier Rakowski to announce the burial of the idea of agreement. Do you believe that idea will be revived? Do you hope, and if so -- under what conditions?

[Answer] A Pole will certainly come to terms with another Pole. And if not, the guilty party will take upon himself enormous responsibility. We are ready for talks any moment. And that phrase about the burial... well, I think Mr Rakowski is a normal person. He was irritated, but we certainly will go back to the negotiating table.

[Question] You have repeatedly said that the authorities disappointed you, because they promised to respect the partner but instead were taking him by surprise. But the authorities also say you have disappointed them. Before the union was registered, you promised to adapt yourselves to the socialist system. Instead, as time passes, you raise even more demands.

[Answer] Who broke point 4 of the Gdansk agreement? And how about the other points? How long has the struggle for the censorship act been going on? Was there anyone to talk to us in earnest about the trade unions act? And who changed it unilaterally? Such a partner does not inspire confidence! You must see that in negotiations we make concessions, and it takes us some effort anyhow to win the union over to them; and if in addition we are being forced to further concessions, well, then I beg your pardon!

[Question] But, after all, the government also has the wall at its back and cannot retreat indefinitely. Your critics object that you deal with Poland as if it were isolated from the map. Alliances and economic agreements are nonexistent for you. You do not worry whether Poland will be supplied with petroleum, cotton and iron ore on credit. But you will blame the government for unemployment when enterprises stop operations.

[Answer] In that case we will have no choice but to let self-managing bodies take enterprises into their hands and look after themselves.

[Question] Will the idea of self-management do for raw materials?

[Answer] It will not, but self-managing bodies will rake them up somehow when it is a question of to be or not to be. Someone will pull out $200, another one will be able to borrow somewhere, and they will look after themselves.

[Question] However, even if that gloomy vision comes true and if the Soviet Union sells us as much as we deliver, we will need not $200, but $200 million, and monthly at that.

[Answer] We hope things will not go that far. The Soviet Union certainly has neither any reasons to bring about a complete crash in Poland, nor is interested in it.

[Question] You have also been accused of adding new items without thinking twice to the list of questions which have to be settled, because it is not you who must get money somewhere, but the government. It must improve the network of schools, must expand construction, protect the environment, pay compensations...if you were not in opposition, you would be more moderate in your demands for outlays from the state treasury.

[Answer] If we were not in opposition, we would have had to share responsibility for the state we are in. Were we those who squandered the billions and who jailed people who dared to speak about that fact aloud? We do not want to draw out those matters, because we are reasonable and fond of a settlement. But I personally consider that the public had been angelically patient and forebearing anyhow.

[Question] What, then, is the purpose of troubling that calm and patience, while bringing to mind that entire list of dirty issues?

[Answer] We did not do that to undercut the government, but to make individual trade and territorial groups think about how they should help themselves and how to deal with their problems in a self-managing manner.

[Question] Let me refer once again to our interview a year ago. To the question, "Do you think our system should include the possibility of bankruptcy?" you answered: "Not bankruptcy, but it should enable a director to say what he can do and at what price." Does the self-managing system enable a director to do that?

[Answer] It does, provided that the director has the self-management's backing. On the one hand, he must know the needs and views of the collective, and on the other, he must know the market.

[Question] And what happens if the collective presses for higher wages and the director, depending on the collective, raises prices, thus shifting the burden to the consumers, or to other collectives?

[Answer] A self-managing body is not fierce capitalism, and besides, the state will have control over enterprises.

[Question] What sort of control, if your union demanded and demands complete independence and self-management?

[Answer] Each system has its defects. At the moment, we are building the lowest link, the enterprise, to make it produce economically what is needed. The state has at its disposal taxes and the laws. We will see how it works at higher levels.

[Question] Are you not overdoing your belief in self-management as a panacea? In the congress discussions and in the program theses I frequently find the hope that Poland's economic life will be based on three columns: the plan, the market and self-management. Is it not a play on words, and does not each of the columns belong to a different edifice?

[Answer] Perhaps you will let me outline that model with more details, as I can see them. There is a state and party administration. It is absolutely necessary. We leave it even for the reason to have somebody to blame for what we fail to do. We build a network of self-managing bodies to guarantee that people work diligently everywhere and do not suffer losses. And the third segment are trade unions. While controlling each other, those three forces must lift the country from the crisis. And then we will have to think about additional links to safeguard democracy. There should be a body of arbitration, some sort of a judge to see that the struggle among us is fair, because we will not be spared conflicts.

[Question] Who should form that additional link?

[Answer] It should be independent of all the three previously mentioned sectors. I do not yet know how.

[Question] Are you not afraid that enterprise self-managing bodies may egoistically pull for its own side, and thus they may be rich and the state poor?

[Answer] When enterprises are rich, so is the state. After all, they pay taxes. The state will have in its hands sufficient means to induce enterprises to share their profits.

[Question] But how can one reconcile freedom to choose production, which is to be granted to enterprises, with long-term plans for foreign trade? For example, we sign a 5-year contract for the delivery of ships, and in the meantime the shipyard resolves to switch over to button manufacture.

[Answer] If buttons bring us profits, we can use them to buy ourselves both ships and even bananas. And if the export of ships is really so profitable for the foreign trade center, let it pay the shipyard more, and then buttons will lose their attractiveness.

[Question] Do you believe that money is more eloquent than plans and instructions?

[Answer] Indeed, I do. This is also the way I think about local self-government. There is a voivoda, a self-governing body and trade unions. The voivoda announces his investment plans. He intends to build a militia station and a kindergarten. The self-governing body objects to the construction of the militia station, but consents to the construction of the kindergarten, adding that if the voivoda wants to build another kindergarten, it is willing to increase the 60 percent of its funds payable to the voivoda by 5 percent more. The trade unions object: But what about recreation facilities? This is, more or less, the way the things should develop. And the fourth body referred to should be a public body to see that none of the three cheats the other two.

[Question] Mr Chairman, I would like to pause for a while on your congress that is still in progress. In the discussions, there are many beautiful phrases and there are many reasons to fear such phrases. There is a great deal of demagogy, empty promises, and there are many reasons to fear that they may seduce the audience. Are you not afraid that in your union's life, demagogy not always meets with resistance, that people may demand things that are impossible, that even you yourself may prove one day to be a victim of exaggerated demands?

[Answer] But what do you think, why was my electoral speech so poor? After all, even if I were unable to write it myself, I have many advisers, and they could have written a brilliant speech for me. Having confessed my part of the sins and blamed the government for the other part, and having flattered the delegates, I could have won 90 percent of the votes. But what would have been the outcome? I chose the other way. Now I will have the moral right to castigate eloquency and empty twaddle, as well as to encourage honest work.

[Question] However, will this be the case at all levels of the union? In other European nations, the grandfathers obtained the very training which we have just begun, and the elementary rule in that training is to lend an ear to the other party, and if the latter is nonexistent, one has to find counterarguments for himself.

[Answer] This is precisely the method we have adopted at the congress. Each controversial issue has its advocate and opponent. But on the whole I agree with you. The danger of demoagogy does exist, we are not immune to it, and this is precisely why I have been intending to foment the spirit of realism, and not of wishful thinking, intending to use the yardstick of work and not of words.

[Question] We speak about the so-called school of democracy, do we not? You adhere to it, but at the same time threaten again and again that you would be a director and would not accept decisions that could nullify the union's achievements.

[Answer] Certainly, that is a sort of provocation. I will always accept wise decisions. But my point is the same, to shut big mouths able to win by means of great phrases, and not by deeds. It was you who said that in other countries grandfathers obtained that training. We must obtain it in the timespan of one generation.

[Question] You threaten with dictatorship, and at the same time you warn against trade union totalitarianism. May I refer to one of your congress speeches? You said that the union could build a totalitarianism that in comparison with which Gierek's totalitarianism would look like an idyll.

[Answer] Let us assume for a moment that, as some people in this hall would like, we have a referendum and overturn the Sejm first, and then the government. We form a new government or seize a considerable number of seats in it. Could we go against our own government? No, we could not. Could we let the others fight it? We could not either. At the beginning we would move by impetus, but then we would be hated. Certainly, this is mere theory, but it is worthwhile to make use of it to show what I mean.

[Question] What remedy do you see against trade union totalitarianism?

[Answer] If we were a political party, it would have been for me internal party democracy, but since we are not a party, I would say that it is a self-governing structure. Self-governing bodies will strictly evaluate the trade union line. If we strived for something going against the interests of collectives, we would have immediately felt that.

[Question] In August 1980, there were many intellectuals who offered their knowledge to your union. At the congress, the same people have been thrashed within an inch of their lives. They have been blamed for everything adverse that occurred for the union and for everything that did not occur and, in the opinion of the delegates, could have occurred. I have in mind, certainly, your adviser. Are you not afraid that the union is becoming a little anti-intellectual?

[Answer] Maybe such a danger exists. In my opinion, it is television which is mainly to be blamed for it. Those people had no chance to present themselves broadly to the public.

[Question] But they could have used the congress floor! They did not use it. Yet they were attacked and were not elected to your governing bodies....

[Answer] The congress atmosphere is specific. Many people who attacked the advisers wanted to win in the elections, and since they had no other credits, they made a show of their militancy. But those things will settle down; we will continue to use the advice of wise people, and our work will go on.

[Question] However, if attacks against the advisers, as you say, could produce an electoral success, is this not evidence of an anti-intellectual disposition of the congress participants?

[Answer] They would not have been attacked if the government allowed us to win more issues. However, since we followed their advice and, out of a sense of responsibility, repeatedly accepted compromises, precisely they were attacked for those compromises.

[Question] In view of that, how can one speak about democracy in a union whose membership masses press for radicalism and the leadership accepts compromises?

[Answer] Wherever we see that nothing can be achieved, we do not press.

[Question] Members exert pressure on the leadership, and the latter on the government. Both you and the government are helpless.

[Answer] The difference is that the government is unwilling to accept public control. That was the rock against which the August talks shattered. The government wants us to confide in it upon its honor. We confide in what we can see.

[Question] Mr Chairman, your union's program, which is precisely now under discussion, attaches much attention to welfare for the poorest. That is undoubtedly necessary, but will that not result in the vision of an egalitarian, in some ways Chinese and flattened society?

[Answer] Not at all; commonsense and moderation win the upper hand also in this field. Welfare -- yes, but to some extent each one must take care of himself. And besides, you do not need to regard the decisions adopted here as definitive. Our first congress is a great school, a discussion and a place to air views. That is a longer version of the Gdansk agreement.

[Question] Are you satisfied with the response to your appeal for work on 8 free Saturdays?

[Answer] It was a nice idea, but it has been messed and spoiled by that decision on payments for mining Saturdays.

[Question] Do you think the government was not interested in raising coal output?

[Answer] Well, I do not think so, but the government did not want it to be plain as day whom the miners follow, because they would follow us. Yet it was possible to do the same thing jointly with us, to consult us on how to divide money payable for free Saturdays.

[Question] Had the appeal concerning free Saturdays succeeded, you would attribute the credit to yourselves; but since it did not, you blame the government.

[Answer] That decision (Council of Ministers' decision No 109 -- editor's note) was issued in an awkward way, even from the point of view of a showdown. If the miners did not respond to our appeal, the government could have ridiculed us. But as it happened, we did not have any trouble shifting the blame to the government. But in my opinion, the government is really to be blamed for the poor results.

[Question] I think many of our readers would like to congratulate you on your election as chairman of the union: Both those who are friendly to you, and those who negotiate with you, because among the four candidates you were the most moderate and responsible. However, I would like to ask you: To what extent did the election reflect the disposition of the 9 million union members?

[Answer] Everyone has his family, children, everyone loves his homeland, and no one -- with some exceptions -- wants any adventure. In my opinion, my election was an election of firmness and at the same time of readiness for conciliation, an election of radicalism that -- as they say -- leaves a chance to pass by and not collide head on. However, will this last forever? Will people not lose their angelical patience? I think we must sit down again at the table as soon as possible and consider how to ease the hard lot of our society.

[Question] You said "with some exceptions." I do not want to ask whom you meant. Rather I would like to ask you if you will be able to use your powers as chairman elected by the congress to prevent those exceptions from aggravating relations with the government.

[Answer] I hope that, with the assistance of a similar -- not aggravating -- government policy, I will succeed. The latest experience with the increased prices of cigarettes did not discourage me. I believe that commonsense will prevail, that we will remember the slogan "to respect the partner," and above all we will realize that both the government and union bear responsibility for the 35 million people affected by the grave crisis.

SOLIDARITY CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS PUBLISHED

AU021811 Warsaw SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 23 Oct 81 pp 9-11

[Declaration and resolutions adopted by the Solidarity congress in Gdansk on 26 September-7 October]

[Text] Programmatic Declaration on National Culture

We take the view that the fate of the Polish community and nation will depend not only on improvements in the country's economic and general social life, but equally on improvements in national culture and education.

Man and the human individual are the essential element to us, and the creation of the most advantageous conditions for a free man's full and free development in a free society, in a sovereign nation and in an independent state are our fundamental aims.

We view the achievements of Polish culture in more than 1,000 years as the foundation of our national existence. These achievements constitute inexhaustible riches, which should be made available to all our people in the process of national education and the spread of culture -- without lies and omissions. At the same time, we want full access to the values of the other nations of our broader fatherland -- Europe -- mindful of the fact that we have belonged to this common spiritual fatherland of many nations ever since we adopted Christianity. We remember that the periods of our links with Europe and the world were also the periods of the most original features of our culture and the periods of isolation produced stagnation and decline.

Concerned about the development of Polish culture, we express our resolve to be just as concerned to ensure that the national minorities living in Poland are able to find, in the fatherland they share with the Poles, the conditions to free development of their cultures and hand them over to the coming generations. In this way we want to be faithful to the tradition of the republic of many nations.

Mindful of the fact that Christianity introduced us to our wider fatherland -- Europe -- that Christianity has crucially determined the shape and substance of Polish national culture for over 1,000 years, that our nation has found support in the Catholic Church in the most tragic times, that our ethics have been determined primarily by Christianity and, finally, that Catholicism is the living faith of most Poles, we take the view that the process of national education must make honest and suitably extensive allowances for the role and place of Christianity and the church in the history of Poland and the world.

At the same time, we declare ourselves in favor of the state's neutrality toward world views in all spheres, above all in the sphere of national education and culture. We view this neutrality as the guarantee of the tolerance of which our forefathers were proud. The plurality and riches that were the distinctive marks of the blossoming of Polish culture should be our purpose today.

The freedom of all kinds of intellectual creativity and the arts denotes above all the free coexistence of world views, attitudes and streams and their free intercourse.

Freedom and tolerance are the basic conditions for the development of culture. Freedom and tolerance are at the same time the basic purpose of national education, which opposes the aims proclaimed by various totalitarianisms on the left and on the right. That is why we are determined to declare a struggle against all kinds of censorship of artistic and scientific works. We regard censorship as an evil to which we agreed by necessity and only temporarily, but we will not agree to the censorship of science and the arts. Censorship's protection of some of the principles of the state's foreign and domestic policy must not be directed at the freedom of scientific research and one's right to know history. Censorship's abuse of the law on the control of publications and public entertainment, through restrictions on the development of national culture and education must elicit opposition and produce complete social support, including that of Solidarity, for independent, uncensored publications.

We are also determined to declare a struggle against all kinds of discrimination in the field of culture and art, regardless of whether it concerns people, ideas, works and movements and regardless of its forms and origins.

In particular, we will oppose any kind of discrimination of the achievements of the emigre Polish creative people because we take the view that Polish culture is indivisible, regardless of whether it is created at home or abroad.

We will seek to democratize culture, which to us means making it available to the most extensive sections of the citizenry and ensuring our citizens' right to present their feelings and views. At the same time, we take the view that democratization of culture is not and cannot be in conflict with the complete support for the creation of elite works, without which the healthy development of national culture is impossible.

Solidarity is determined to guarantee the freedom of national culture and declares that it does not lay any claim to the right to determine the contents of intellectual and artistic creations. Art and science and the values they create — beauty and truth -- are a must for man's spiritual development and, except for this justification, require no other justification.

We see in autonomy the institutional guarantee of the free development of culture. We regard cultural autonomy in a self-governing society as one of Solidarity's programmatic aims. Culture suffers under any monopoly, especially state monopoly. The institutions that serve culture -- publishing houses, printing facilities, movie studios, theaters, philharmonic orchestras and so on — should become autonomous and independent of the state authorities.

Resolution on National Minorities

While striving for the development of Polish culture and its opening for the achievements of other peoples, we also manifest the will to enable Polish citizens belonging to other nationalities and ethnic groups -- the Belorussians, the Gypsies, the Greeks, the Lithuanians, the Lemkos, the Germans, the Ukrainians, the Tartars, the Jews and other nationalities — to find in the fatherland shared with the Poles the conditions to freely develop their cultures and to pass them on to the coming generations.

Our intention thus is to remain loyal to the traditions of the multinational republic.

Regional characteristics also belong to the treasury of Polish culture, and they should be fostered.

Our union opposes all national divisions, and it will fight to guarantee full civil rights for all Poles, irrespective of their nationality or origin.

Culture will continue to require -- at least in some spheres -- state or communal subsidies. However, such subsidies must not provide grounds for restricting the proper self-governing capacity in the sphere of culture.

Our union must also bear that in mind whenever it performs the role of patron of culture.

Resolution on the Union's Publishing Policy

1) The first national congress of Solidarity delegates thanks the editorial boards and founding teams of union weeklies, bulletins and other publications.

2) While taking into account the present state of Solidarity's access to the mass media, the union believes that the new national governing bodies should give the broadest possible assistance to the union press and publications, particularly in the area of increasing circulation.

3) We believe that, in the assistance policy of providing newsprint and printing machines, the national governing bodies should be guided by the following principles:

A) Support should be given to the present initiatives, particularly those that materialized in the most difficult period. The principle of proportionality should be observed in distributing newsprint and printing machines among the union weeklies and bulletins published to date.

(B) New weeklies and dailies are to be established in the regions in which the information monopoly belongs to the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Workers Cooperative publishing house. What we have in mind particularly are those regions remote from large urban centers.

(4) To draw up other principles of publishing policy and to evaluate union periodicals and publications, the congress will set up a publishing programming council.

(5) The congress calls on the government of the Polish People's Republic to fulfill the pledge concerning the allotment of newsprint to Solidarity as soon as possible.

(6) The congress asks the state authorities and their press organs to provide accurate information about the congress proceedings.

Resolution on the Union's Printing Facilities

The first congress of the delegates binds the newly elected bodies of the National Commission to fully and unambiguously clarify all issues concerning the purchase, delivery and distribution of printing equipment.

The statement on this subject should specify donations obtained from abroad, the substance of contracts for equipment deliveries, the volume of deliveries made, and it should give a detailed distribution list.

Materials worked out by the factfinding commission should be submitted to the National Auditing Commission.

Resolution on the Defense of the Union Press and Publications From Reprisals

Actions against the union press, libraries, independent publishing houses and the publishing houses of the Independent Students Association have been increasing for a long time. Specifically, those actions are:

-- The campaign of slanders in the press, radio and television;

-- Prosecutor's charges and indictments;

-- The intimidation of journalists and associates of editorial boards, publishing houses, printing and distribution offices;

-- Barring access to enterprise and state printing facilities;

-- Blocking distribution and confiscation of printed matter.

The first Solidarity congress binds all union authorities to defend all union publishing houses or publishing houses cooperating with union libraries, and in particular to provide conditions for editorial and publishing acitivities in line with the union's statutes. It also demands safety for the union press, publishing houses and libraries, as well as for persons employed at those institutions.

The congress recommends that all union authorities:

-- Intervene and organize protest actions, including the refusal to publish the newspaper concerned, when reprisals are taken against the union press;

-- Organize Solidarity actions against reprisals;

-- As far as possible, print publications or articles illegally appropriated by the state authorities;

-- Firmly oppose the attempts of the authorities to interpret the censorship law in such a way as to restrict the nation's right to know its history and literature.

At the same time we demand that legal regulations be issued as soon as possible exempting publishing houses from the requirement to obtain "licenses" for their establishment and operations. Under such conditions, independent publishing houses could become cooperative publishing houses.

We hold the National Commission responsible to take energetic steps in support of this demand. The first congress commits the Mazowsze Intervention Bureau to organize a center for the defense of the press. The bureau will have its own information center and a permanent team of defense attorneys.

Resolution on the Independence of the Judiciary

Convinced of the impossibility of setting right the republic without guaranteeing an independent judiciary, the first congress of Solidarity delegates resolves:

1. To call on all enterprise organizations to widely disseminate the theses of the union's program concerning guarantees for the judiciary's independence and for necessary changes to ensure that the judiciary is fully self-governing and independent of political authorities and the state administration;

2. To bind the union authorities, and particularly the National Commission, to work out materials telling the whole society the history of the judiciary in the postwar period and showing its role, both positive and negative, in the struggle for human rights and for respect of the rights of the entire society;

3. To bind the National Commission to show particular vigor in negotiations on legal changes called for in the union's program to ensure the independence of the courts, and to obligate all union members to back its activities, even by means of protest actions.

Resolution on Political Prisoners

While recognizing the need for preserving public order in the country, in August 1981 the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity called on the organizers of the "star march" to refrain from this form of protest against the detention of persons imprisoned for their convictions.

At the same time the National Consultative Commission stated that it would protect people arrested during the political trials then taking place.

At present in Poland there are three persons being held under charge of committing political offenses. They are Leszek Moczulski, Romuald Szeremetiew and Tadeusz Stanski.

We demand freedom for the detainees, regarding their imprisonment as contradicting point 4 of the Gdansk agreement.

The congress of Solidarity delegates will present the aforementioned demand to the Supreme Court as the highest organ of the administration of justice in the Polish People's Republic.

Resolution of the Union's Contacts With Foreign Countries

The union's international activity is based on the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and on the agreements on human and civil rights ratified by ILO conventions 87 and 98 by the Solidarity statutes.

The union's international contacts and activity should help to implement the statutory tasks for defending, protecting and consolidating the working people's rights and interests. We seek to contribute to ensuring a lasting peace in the world because all forms of discrimination and exploitation, of force, of economic, political and ideological domination are alien to us.

Since Polish socieity has been situated on the borders of varying cultures and trends and with its historical experience, Solidarity is bound to bridge contradictions and to build a moral order in the labor world, in social, economic and political relations. That order is to be founded on the dignity of each man as a laborer and human being possessing all the rights he is entitled to: the right to democracy and to order in a self-governing society. We will implement those values while encouraging solidarity among the working people, respecting their varying views and the sovereignty of every nation. We also keep and expand contacts with Poles living all over the world to help them preserve their national identity through access to Polish culture.

Contacts kept by Solidarity with foreign working people will be independent of the state and party authorities, of religious organizations and any other institutions. We will encourage international cooperation in the field of organizational work, of trade union training, of collective contracts, labor and environmental protection, cultural and tourist exchanges.

We want to cooperate especially at the factory and regional organizations level.

Solidarity makes all necessary efforts to protect the interests of Polish workers employed abroad and to guarantee their union rights. At the same time we will, if necessary, assist foreigners working in Poland.

The National Commission must systematize the organization of foreign contacts and particularly develop the activity of Solidarity's social fund. We must integrate the drugs bank and other forms of assistance from abroad in the framework of the fund.

Resolution on the KOR Social Self-Defense Committee

The first congress of Solidarity delegates has been notified of the dissolution of the KOR Social Self-Defense Committee.

Formed following the June 1976 events, the Committee for the Defense of the Workers assisted persecuted workers and their families. It was the first organized form of democratic opposition that emerged after 1976. It took positions that were common to both the intelligentsia and the workers.

Before August 1980, committee members and associates were repeatedly persecuted, imprisoned and harassed for their activities.

The first congress of the delegates thanks the KOR members and associates who rendered good services to the defense of worker's interests and to the common national cause.

Resolution on the Committees for the Defense of Prisoners of Conscience

Since mid-August 1981, the state authorities have banned all the activities of the committees for the defense of prisoners of conscience. That action has been in step with the attempts to intimidate and repress committee figures.

The first congress of Solidarity delegates states that: Aware of the importance of implementing point 4 of the Gdansk agreement, on 10 December 1980 the National Consultative Commission adopted the decision to form the National Committee for Prisoners of conscience. The action undertaken by the National Committee for the Defense of Prisoners of Conscience has met with a wide response on the part of the public. As a result, committees acting in defense of prisoners of conscience have spontaneously emerged all over the country.

We protest against the obstruction of activities performed by the committees to implement the social accords endorsed by the entire nation.

Poland should be a country without political prisoners

1. While backing public initiatives in defence of prisoners of conscience, the first national congress of Solidarity delegates regards the committees for the defense of prisoners of conscience as an issue to be dealt with by union authorities at the appropriate levels.

2. the National Commission endorses the regulations drawn up by the national congress of the committees for the defense of prisoners of conscience for the activity of regional committees for the defense of prisoners of conscience.

3. Associates of the committees for the defense of prisoners of conscience are protected by the union in the same way that its members are protected.

Resolution on Cooperative Movement

Polish society has begun to restore the social, economic and cultural values arising from the traditions of Polish society. Conditions, time and the need have also been provided for restoring the cooperative movement to its authentic form.

What we need for this purpose is:

1) To amend the cooperative act and to base that act on the principles arising from the traditions of the cooperative movement in Poland and providing the foundations for the activity of the International Cooperative Union;

2) To reinstate cooperative societies and provide them with independence, self-management and freedom to associate; specifically, societies and associations must be established and function on a voluntary basis;

3) To guarantee the actual implementation of the employees' self-management in controlling the cooperative society;

4) To recognize the cooperative society's right to draw up its statutes in line with its role and the task it is supposed to perform;

5) To enable the cooperative movement to participate in the program for overcoming the crisis, it must be free to set up various types of societies, and these societies must be free to define the scope of their activities. The congress binds the National Commission to set up a team composed of delegates, workers of the cooperative movement and experts to draft detailed amendments to the act on cooperative societies.

The congress binds the union's regional board and local organizations to promote all changes in the cooperative movement leading to the movement's autonomous rebirth.

Resolution on Guidelines for Joint activity with Rural Solidarity

Economic, social and cultural living conditions in the countryside are at present unfavorable for economic initiatives and changes that could enhance agricultural production.

Production growth is being hampered by the bureacratic apparatus of procurements and supplies, of services, of dairy and vegetable farming, of cooperative banking societies and agricultural services.

The regression of the countryside in the economic, social and cultural spheres must be stopped. A great deal depends on cooperation between [worker's] Solidarity and Rural Solidarity, on their mutual confidence and consistent joint activities.

The National Commission is obligated to set up a special team for cooperation with Rural Solidarity as soon as possible. The team should coordinate the activities of branch and trade sections acting in the countryside or for the countryside, and draw up a program for the joint activity of both unions.

Specifically, that program should broach the following subjects:

1) Organizations in agriculture, agricultural services, rural trade, education, health services, culture, farm supplies and food industries should form joint commissions for cooperation with Rural Solidarity in the areas of the economic and social reform in communes and small towns.

2) We must set up authentic farmer-worker self-managing bodies in cooperative societies and at state enterprises, jointly form managing mechanisms free of bureaucratic constraints.

3) We must take joint action to create real democratic territorial self-government in the countryside, communal councils, and to draw up a program for their activities in the economic and social sphere.

4) We must give Rural Solidarity necessary and far-reaching assistance in the organizational consolidation of farmers' trade unions.

Resolution on Cooperation With the National Founding Committee of the Private Transportation Drivers' Solidarity

In accordance with the agreement concluded by the Solidarity National Consultative Commission of the Private Transportation Drivers' Solidarity on cooperation between the two unions, we bind the newly elected Solidarity National Commission to assist and to take effective steps to register the Private Transportation Drivers' Solidarity.

Problems concerning self-employed persons, such as private farmers, craftsmen, taxi drivers and others, must be clearly stated in the act on trade unions.

PRIVATE FARMERS SOLIDARITY VIEWS MINISTRY'S OFFER

LD051120 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Text] The Presidium of the National Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers in today's statement formulates its stance on the order by the minister of domestic trade and services concerning linking the sale of industrial goods with the procurement of animals for slaughter.

The government decision introducing the linking of the sale of industrial goods with the procurement of slaughter animals in the ratio of five-to-one, which aims at increasing procurement -- the statement reads -- does not eliminate the causes of its slow-down such as lack of social calm and progressing inflation. Instead it threatens to set rural areas against towns, and also discriminates against farmers who are producing other indispensible food articles such as milk.

We strongly protest states the Presidium of the Founding Committee of the Private Farmers Solidarity, against emergency methods of increasing procurement, and we demand that agricultural production be treated seriously and that elementary conditions are created for the development of agricultural production. Private Farmers, members of Solidarity, have concrete proposals for overcoming the food crisis, and wish to discuss them with the government immediately.

It appears that after the first 3 days of linked sale no significant increase in slaughter animal supply was noted.

PRIVATE FARMERS SOLIDARITY LEADER KULAJ INTERVIEW

PM041333 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 28 Oct 81 p 3

[Wieslaw Szczupak interview with Private Farmers NSZZ Solidarity Chairman Jan Kula: "We Favor Dialogue With the Government" -- date and place not specified]

[Text] The Presidium of the National Founding Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers met at Wierzchoslawice recently.

[Question] What was decided?

[Answer] We appointed health commissions attached to our trade union. We introduced changes in the Presidum's composition and coopted a few additional members. The number of Presidium members was increased from 12 to 15 because we have now reached the precongress period and it is necessary to work more effectively and constructively. We have sent a resolution to the government and workers' Solidarity in which we demand that no talks be held on the subject of food without us. The question of state insurance contributions, which have been levied without our trade union's agreement, was also one of the more important matters discussed. Unless their collection is suspended and the matter is submitted for discussion, our trade union will engage in protest action.

[Question] You have partly changed the composition of the National Founding Committee Presidium. Did you do this in order to remove the threat of the trade union's being wrecked, which has often been mentioned recently?

[Answer] This was not the most important issue. It was a question of the Presidium's work. People who were effective in the struggle waged before the trade union was registered have often proved unequal to the task now that it has reached the open sea and must not only be called a trade union but also act like one. Presidium members must be aware that they serve an idea which concerns all the peasantry.

[Question] But does such a threat exist?

[Answer] Some factions have come into being, especially in regions lacking the peasant movement's traditions like, for instance, the Walbrzych, Bydgoszcz and Wroclaw regions. The fact that Roman Bartoszcze has been trying to wreck the trade union shows that he wants to give himself airs and create yet another group with yet another leader. There are now as many "Witoses" [reference to Wincentry Witos, peasant party leader and prime minister in prewar Poland] as there are communes [gminyy]. We people from the south must explain to them that unity among country people is the objective.

[Question] How can this be done?

[Answer] It is simply necessary to unite the countryside. A rural "lobby" must be created. This work should be stared in the trade union ZSL and ZMW [Rural Youth Union]. Peasants, not activitsts must decide how these organizations should work. We have many activists but they are not supported by the peasants. However, it will be hard to unite the countryside. The Polish nation is now so surfeited with democracy that only private farmers' common interests -- assured possession of land, struggle for means of production and profitability of agricultural production -- can lead to that social stratum's unity.

[Question] During the meeting, I heard remarks to the effect that the interests of peasant groups in the south, in central Poland and on the coast differ. Will this not make it necessary to create appropriate teams within the National Founding Committee?

[Answer] The interests of peasants are identical throughout the country -- struggle for the right to own land, respect for the farmers' dignity, the provision of production facilities and profitability. Whether you own 40 or 2 hectares, you must fight -- there is no difference here. Obviously, I agree that regional interests will differ, but they will be dealt with at voivodship level. Voivodship founding committees must ensure that the regional authorities create the economic conditions which farmers in specific regions in fact need.

[Question] The Private Farmers' Solidarity movement is without precedent in the history of the Polish countryside. So what is the place of that trade union in the countrywide and what role does it play there?

[Answer] It must be stated openly that the Private Farmers' Trade Union is the only organization in countryside which protects the interests of peasant producers. For the rural circles represent no one. As for the ZSL, it is a peasant party, but its activities differ from voivodship to voivodship. At commune and village level its organizations are represented by peasants, but at voivodship level the situation is completely different -- they talk to the peasants but listen to the authorities. Obviously that is not so everywhere. I believe that Solidarity members who are also ZSL members should lead the party onto a path of activity which peasants can understand and that they should all cooperate for the countryside's good.

[Question] Does this mean that you can see prospects for cooperation with the ZSL Supreme Committee?

[Answer] I should think so, in view of the fact that I am both a ZSL member and chairman of a peasant trade union. However, this will not occur before the trade union's members decide that such cooperation is necessary. The Supreme Committee must be what peasants, not activists or the authorities, want it to be.

[Question] And what about the ZMW?

[Answer] There is no problem as far as the ZMW is concerned. Whenever both father and son are Solidarity members and, in addition, the son belongs to the ZMW, a two-to-one situation arises. If the worst comes to the worst, the father will give the son two tires [as published]. The son will be polite and do whatever is necessary in the countryside.

[Question] In the trade union's opinion, how should the prices of agricultural products develop?

[Answer] Prices must be profitable. We have never fought to ensure that they are high. After all, prices of the means of production can be reduced. But the profitability of our products must be ensured.

[Question] The problem of barter has been widely discussed. What are your views on the subject?

[Answer] I am opposed to it. The Solidarity trade union is supposed to directly protect the interests of all peasants, but if someone in the countryside had no pig to exchange for clothes, he would have to walk about naked. And any city dweller who possessed no coal or tractor would have to starve. Before starting to talk about barter we must ensure that there are commodities available which can be bartered. The concept of introducing barter is yet another attempt to set the cities and the countryside at odds.

[Question] It is a fact, however, that antagonisms between the cities and the rural areas have been increasing. City dwellers have been blaming the rural areas for lack of food on the market.

[Answer] I do not understand what is meant by "city." The 10 million members of Solidarity with whom we hold talks at voivodship level and, occasionally, at national level, surely understand what is happening in the countryside. I believe that, since we are able to explain to our families in the countryside why there is no chocolate and why people have to wear the same pair of shoes all the time, city dwellers should also realize that, since everyone has been working badly, everyone now must have a similar living standard and be given no priority.

[Question] It follows that agriculture must be renewed from the base up....

[Answer] It will be very hard to do this if decisions of this kind continue to be taken. If the countryside does not receive what farmers need, it will not begin to give. At various meetings crops not yet harvested are already being distributed. Workers' Solidarity has already held discussions on the subject of the division of food, but cereals and rape have been sown without fertilizers this year.

[Question] So how can the necessary production be ensured and food supplies increased without adversely affecting the working people's interests?

[Answer] Only by preserving the free market. Neither the principles governing such a market nor the level of maximum prices must be imposed by the authorities; instead they should be determined as a result of an agreement between workers' Solidarity and the peasants' Solidarity.

[Question] You will very soon be holding talks with the government. What will be the subjects of your negotiations?

[Answer] We must hold talks with representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture, the premier -- that is absolutely essential -- and someone from the Agriculture Department of the Central Committee. It is necessary to deal with what is happening in rural areas in a constructive manner. What is most important is ensuring profitability and prospects for agricultural production. This must also be immediately be discussed with the National Consultative Commission with a view to determining further joint action. For if we start regenerating the countryside by dividing something that does not exist, the entire country will go to the devil.

[Question] In what regions of the country is the trade union strongest, and how many members has it altogether?

[Answer] The south, the southeast and Western Pomerania. At present some 1.5 million farms are represented in our trade union.

[Question] Does a boundary exist between political activities and trade union activities, bearing in mind your statements that the trade union is nonpolitical?

[Answer] Everything is politics now.

[Question] And the trade union's objective and tasks for the immediate future...?

[Answer] Improving the countryside's organization and unifying the trade union throughout the country. Securing the implementation of the Rzeszow accords. But what will be most important will be our talks with the government representatives, who must finally realize that our trade union's existence is an irreversible fact and take advantage of our proposals and good advice.

[Question] What do you talk about when you meet Walesa, although it is known that you meet him very seldom?

[Answer] Walesa always says that he is short of time, and I say that he should at last find some.

[Question] Are you to meet him in the immediate future?

[Answer] I believe that such a meeting is absolutely necessary. It is necessary to determine by what methods the deterioration of the crisis can be halted and the country's economic reconstruction started.

[Question] Do you have your own recipe?

[Answer] If the Polish peasant wants to have more, he must work harder. If the nation wants to have more it also must really buckle down to work. Furthermore, discipline and productivity are indispensable.

[Question] These are mere words....

[Answer] No. Despite various circumstances, farmers have worked and reaped the fruits of their labor, which they now have. Workers will eventually realize what it means to fight for production tools and for an opportunity to work when workers' self-management is introduced into factories. Such self-management could well lead to a widening of the gap between countryside and city, because enterprises will seek to sell their products at higher prices in order to ensure adequate wages for the workers, especially if they are not granted adequate credits. This will adversely affect the countryside and return like a bommerang to hit the cities.

[Question] Does this mean that you are not in favor of Solidarity's introducing self-management into enterprises, the need for which has been the subject of wide-ranging discussions?

[Answer] If I were the leader of workers' Solidarity in the situation in which the country has now found itself I would never agree to self-management. The question of authority has not been resolved; people are unprepared for it; there is a lack of funds and so forth. Once workers' Solidarity introduces self-management into enterprises in accordance with the wide-ranging plan which it has usurped, whenever it wants to take strike action as a trade union, every move it makes will be blocked by self-management because what will be at stake will be maximum profits.

[Question] What would you do in Walesa's place?

[Answer] I would have fought since August last year for adequate production. Both sides are to blame for the fact that it has not been achieved.

[Question] Do you support the way in which Walesa leads the trade union -- by compromise and dialogue?

[Answer] Certainly.

[Question] In many social circles, the need to form a new government -- a government of national reconciliation -- has been mentioned.

[Answer] I could agree with this concept, but I would never support the idea of a government of national salvation because this would be tantamount to an attempt to involve the trade union and then blame the entire nation for what someone else has squandered.

[Question] Country people have great confidence in you despite your youth. This imposes certain obligations; you have great responsibilities, and your entire tremendous work....

[Answer] I have never looked back and I give no thought to what I have done -- this is the peasant's nature. He must always look forward and consider what additional work has to be done. A peasant leader can have no inhibitions when faced with work and struggle.

[Questioner] Thank you for the interview.

NSZZ WORKERS, FEDERAL INSPECTORS SIGN AGREEMENT

LD042152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2030 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] An agreement has been signed between the NSZZ of Trade and Cooperative Employees and the Chief Inspectorate of the State Trade Inspectorate. Its objectives are to step up the protection of the interests of both consumers and employees of commerce, catering and services in view of the growing market difficulties as well as rising speculation. Both sides have resolved to cooperate at the national and local levels.

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES INDUSTRIAL TU OFFICIALS

LD042326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, today met the leadership of the National Commission of Cooperation of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions: Eugeniusz Mielnicki, (Roman Gorski), (Leon Gryczuk), (Krystyna Krzekotowska) and (Andrzej Kozlowski).

During the meeting, the part played by the Industrial Branch Trade Unions in activities aimed at creating a new formula for a front of national unity and aimed at agreement and cooperation between all patriotic forces in the socialist renewal of the country was discussed. The representatives of the National Commission of Cooperation of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions expressed understanding and support for the proposal put forward in the Sejm regarding the setting up of a council of national agreement.

RAKOWSKI DISCUSSES SOLIDARITY 'ACTIVISTS'

LD041344 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Lodz: Yesterday's conference of political and economic activists of the Sieradz Voivodship was devoted to a discussion on the current political, social and economic situation of the Sieradz Voivodship, and to agreeing on proposals for party work of the voivodship echelon stemming from the deliberations and resolutions of the Fifth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the Central Committee and deputy for the Sieradz region, participated in the conference.

Both in the speech by Janusz Urbaniak, first secretary of the Sieradz Voivodship party committee, and in the discussion, the need for the authorities at all levels to employ resolute measures and solutions to extricate the country from the economic and political crisis was stressed. The speakers stressed that local and central authorities also committed errors in the course of the past year, the year of renewal, and that a lack of consistency in social and economic policy could be seen. Examples of chaos and organizational disarray which still occur frequently, and which cannot be explained by the crisis situation, were pointed out. It was stated that it is quite the opposite; it is organizational inefficiency and lack of action that exacerbate crisis [word indistinct] in the community.

At the end of the session Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski took the floor. He defined his attitude to the fundamental problems indicated during the meeting as being the most urgent for the Sieradz Voivodship and then took up the issue of fundamental problems of the state.

He stressed that solving the political crisis constitutes a fundamental condition for coming out of the economic crisis, as the political crisis makes it difficult or even impossible to unite the whole community around production goals. Mieczyslaw Rakowski remarked that in the present political situation, which is full of sharp clashes, party members also are not presenting the right attitude. Many of them are indecisive and take up an unclear stand.

He described this graphically as sitting on the fence. The deputy premier also stated that political enemies of the party and state set for themselves the goal -- in their everyday activity -- of economic and social destruction of Poland, seeing in the disintegration of the country a chance for seizing power. It is for this reason that all anti-crisis measures taken by the government were blocked by Solidarity activists, which are leading to Poland's collapse and, at best, to living in a permanent crisis. Yet the authorities are displaying a great deal of good will. They are still ready to sit down at a conference table. However, they expect from Solidarity activists a truly partner-like approach and proof of their willingness to cooperate.

PZPR'S OPALKO ATTENDS MEETING IN TARNOW

LD042310 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Party meetings are being held throughout the country to discuss socioeconomic affairs of plants and regions against the background of the implementation of the resolutions of the Fourth and Fifth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Tarnow Voivodship PZPR Committee, attended an open party meeting at the Tarnow nitrogen plant. Those taking part in the meeting unanimously said that an improvement in the difficult crisis situation depends to a considerable extent on a rapid introduction of the economic reform with a simultaneous revision of prices.

In the nitrogen plant in Wloclawek, there was a meeting today of the sociopolitical aktiv in the plant with Marian Wozniak, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Krystian Luczak, first secretary of the Wloclawek Voivodship PZPR Committee. Answering questions directly from the hall and those addressed to the central party authorities by telephone, the Central Committee secretary discussed matters linked with the introduction of economic reform and the formation of worker self-management.

TRYBUNA LUDU PROFILES POLITBURO MEMBER SIWAK

LD051056 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0940 GMT 5 Nov 81

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU is continuing its series of portraits of PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat members. So far Stanislaw Opalko, Zofia Grzyb, Zbigniew Messner and Jerzy Romanik have been presented. This time the paper acquaints readers with Politburo member Albin Siwak. In conversation with a journalist he said, inter alia:

"Siwak is an implacable enemy of Solidarity and public agreement." This is the greatest of all the absurdities that have been attributed to me. How could I be an enemy of millions of workers? However, I have always been, am and will remain unto death an enemy of all those who deceive the workers. This is obvious, as I myself was a worker who (?was deceived). I hold that under socialism neither party workers nor ministers nor trade union figures have or can have such a right. But those who are managing Solidarity, those who are "helping" it, formulating its ideology -- they are deceiving the workers, and the party should defend the workers from them.

Agreements are essential. Since becoming a Politburo member I have understood this better than before. But I do not believe in agreements where one side has to yield and the other exerts pressure. That is not agreement but capitulation. I have been represented as favoring declaring Solidarity illegal. But I spoke otherwise. I said that a Solidarity leadership which does not observe the obligations it has undertaken and its charter should be declared [words indistinct]. Probably from the legal viewpoint I expressed myself incorrectly. [Words indistinct] I think that I would agree with Walesa on many matters, but that would be if we were alone in a room together, without anyone helping either of us to understand each other.

BARCIKOWSKI SPEECH AT PZPR PLENUM 28 OCT

AU031108 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Oct 81 p 3

[Report on speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 28 October session of the Fifth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] PAP — Reporting on the implementation of the fourth plenum resolution, K. Barcikowski said inter alia that the fourth plenum decisions had been extensively approved by party members and functionaries and had reinvigorated party work. Every kind of activity has been undertaken to implement the resolution in question, and nothing has been done against its decisions and spirit, he said.

The Central Committee Secretariat has adopted and addressed to voivodship committees a plan for party activities to implement the fourth plenum decisions. Our concern has been to ensure that the implementation of those decisions proceeds throughout the party in line with uniform principles and in accordance with concerted and parallel activities by all voivodship organizations.

That is important, K. Barcikowski continued, because we regard the fourth plenum resolution as a whole and take the view that all its decisions should be implemented everywhere. Our party is in struggle, and struggle calls for central management and for sumbmission to resolutions and decisions. The Central Committee decisions and the Politburo decisions made on the authority of the Central Committee must not be used for a referendum to find out who in the party is for and who is against the Politburo, as still happens not infrequently. It also happens that casting doubts on adopted resolutions is in fact a dodge to conceal inactivity and lack of resolve to act.

That is why the Central Committee Secretariat adopted the plan in question and the principles of controlling its implementation.

Strengthening the Party's Unity and Cohesion

We are seeking to improve the ties between the Central Committee leadership and local party levels. We will maintain similar ties with 206 of the largest industrial enterprises.

The purpose of our internal party activities, K. Barcikowski continued, is to rally the entire party around the party statute and the ninth congress resolutions. In order to strengthen the militancy of party activities and to increase its external impact, it is necessary to ensure the action unity of our ranks and to stimulate all members of the party and basic party organizations. That is why it is important to organize meetings in all basic party organizations and to include all party members in the talks about the fourth plenum resolutions. It is necessary to stimulate these members and to strengthen their ties with their basic party organizations and the entire party. This will create opportunities for the entire party community to defend the position of the party and party members. To do that, we need to work in line with the fourth plenum resolutions so that party members who are Solidarity members can declare themselves, and every party member can be defended against hostile attacks. We have recommended defense by legal means, but there is no better defense than the party organizations' unceasing efforts to repulse the semifascist attacks against them in some enterprises. We must present these issues openly, unmask the political nature of such attacks and lay bare the threat posed by these attacks for the principles of social life in Poland. Individual cases must not be treated as the personal affair of this or that party member. They must arouse the opposition of entire party organizations and committees.

In light of that, it is also necessary to view the attitude of party organizations and members toward hostile political actions and strikes and to counter them. Let us note that by opposing those actions, our party organizations and the entire party confirm their role vis-a-vis society as a constructive force which acts in the interests of all people against the forces that destroy the economic and social foundations of the people's existence.

And precisely because our party represents such an approach in struggle, it will not lose this struggle. Even when strikes take place despite the party's counteractions, such a situation should be regarded as a temporary defeat and not as a violation of the party's integrity. The right is on our side and on the side of the comrades who actively oppose the disease of anarchy. I am saying this because every wave of strikes was followed by decreased activity and by apathy in the party. This is because we have not done enough to make the party realize that it is waging a struggle for long-term aims, that the right is on its side and that society will recognize and appreciate this right. A society that would come to terms with the strike terror would condemn itself to defeat.

That is also true of our political principles and international alliances. The opponents of socialism are greatly mistaken if they expect that the tensions they create will help them overthrow the socialist order in Poland. In this sense they are also antinational.

Bearing all that in mind, many local party organizations have begun setting up propaganda groups and groups of party aktivs to conduct effective political activities. Work has also been intensified in the sphere of the mass media and party propaganda, and has been reinforced by a review of the journalist cadres and the formulation of the statute of press organs. Responding to the comrades' demands that party information and propaganda be improved, the party leadership has decided to set up a publicity agency, whose task will be to supply the press with information and publicity materials, and to organize a Central Committee department of information, which will supply party organizations with information materials.

Military operational groups have begun operations all over the country on the initiative of the first secretary of the Central Committee. Local party functionaries should assist these groups in a comprehensive way. The ZSL has declared its assistance in this way.

In line with the resolution of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the party leadership has proposed to set up the front of accord of patriotic forces. PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski has had talks most recently with the prominent representatives of our social life. The talks should yield favorable results.

Intensification of Work in Economic Affairs

The government has intensified its work in the field of those economic affairs that are listed by the fourth plenum resolution. In particular, this concerns the task of the mining industry to provide fuels and energy for the population and the task to supply the health service with the necessary amounts of medicines. It will be possible to improve the situation in those sectors if no additional obstacles appear.

Intensifying the procurement of livestock and improving supplies for the population is a task that presents enormous difficulties today. In line with the recommendations of the fourth plenum resolution we are gradually effecting a shift of industrial goods to the rural market. Many voivodships are carrying this out within the framework of their powers and are introducing connected sales -- livestock in exchange for industrial goods. The initial results of this scheme are encouraging, and we should follow this path, but we should not overestimate those results because of the limited availability of the industrial goods we can offer to the rural areas. It is difficult to count on lasting and telling improvements in the procurement of livestock and in supplies for the population without a radical reform of food retail prices combined, of course, with a rationally devised compensation for increased living costs.

Work is continuing to select the enterprises that are able to operate on work-free Saturdays and to provide better supplies for the market as a result of increased production. The point is that we should achieve this in a coordinated manner -- together with workforces. The scheme affords much room for party organizations' constructive militancy.

The fourth plenum resolution includes pledges made by the forces of public order to ensure security and legal order in the state. Suitable organizational measures at the voivodship level have been made in this regard. The number of legal interventions in the case of people who violate the regulations in force has increased. This has been especially so in the case of publishing and circulating illegal publications and of anti-state actions. We must resolutely reject Solidarity's claims that such measures are directed against it. It is significant in this connection that such claims have been submitted during the implementation of the new law on publication adopted recently by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, following long discussions with representatives of the communities that are particularly interested in this matter. The full implementation of that law should be regarded as an important and urgent task that no one must shirk.

In its fourth plenum resolution the Central Committee once again confirmed Solidarity's constitutional and statutory obligations. The Central Committee has asked Solidarity bodies to stop activities that destroy the economy and paralyze the socialist state's functioning.

The talks conducted by government representatives seemed to indicate that Solidarity was showing some signs of sobriety, but its activites have followed another line -- the tested line -- of constantly fanning social tensions, intensifying the disorganization of economic life and further escalating political demands. Officially dissociating itself from the local strikes, the Solidarity leadership proclaimed a 1-hour strike on 28 October and announced other actions. By the way, saying that strikes in the enterprises that are of national importance are local strikes helps to out-fox public opinion. The downtime in such enterprises paralyzes entire sectors of national production and Poland's foreign trade.

Solidarity actions undertaken after the fourth plenum attest to conscious and planned activities aimed at countering our party's constructive work with Solidarity's destructive measures calculated to wholly paralyze our economy. This is supposed to constitute the justification for lying propaganda and for constant accusations to the effect that the power apparatus is incapable and should therefore be replaced by Solidarity.

At its coming session the Sejm will take a stand on strikes. If in spite of that Solidarity fails to change its conduct, it will be necessary to make decisions that go farther in safeguarding the people's and state's vital interests.

Changes in the Central Committee's Organizational Structure

I would like to inform you about the Politburo's position regarding the many proposals submitted during the consultations held in the course of the fourth plenum. Some of these proposals will be submitted for the Central Committee's decisions today. They concern the change in the organizational structure of the Central Committee apparatus, the appointment of heads of departments and changes in the work style of the Central Committee apparatus. Following the decisions in this connection, the personal mutual contacts between Central Committee members and heads of departments on issues of party work will be all the more important.

A decision has been made to delegate to the Secretariat office employees work involving assistance and information for Central Committee members.

The party leadership will try to implement the proposal that Central Committee members should be more extensively committed to preparing materials to be deliberated at the plenary sessions. A realistic evaluation of the possibilities in this connection shows that this can concern preparing materials for a Central Committee plenary session that is planned ahead in good time.

Demands have also been submitted to the effect that party levels should participate in a planned way in consultations on important state decisions. We regard this as the leadership's obligation and will fulfill these expectations. This will also help the proposed better coordination of the work done by the Politburo and the Government Presidium.

We have also decided to reinforce the party's printing facilities. A better use of the present facilities, which are quite considerable, can produce speedy results.

As proposed here, we will organize a seminar of Central Committee members.

Finally, I would like to raise the issue of consistent consultations between the leadership and Central Committee members. The Central Committee commissions, which are staffed by members of the party leadership, are a standing form of consultation. We will organize consultations with voivodship groups of delegates as needed and as the issues under discussion require such consultations. At the same time, we would like to encourage the comrades to submit in writing their observations made in the course of work and the proposals ensuing for the party from such observations.

In its work the Central Committee must always look for positive solutions to problems facing the party -- solutions that are consistent with the situation at hand.

ZSL SUPREME COMMITTEE PRESIDIUM MEETS 4 NOV

LD042140 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Preparations for the sixth plenary session of the ZSL Supreme Committee were discussed at today's meeting of the committee's Presidium. The Presidium adopted draft documents for the Plenum which will determine the ZSL's targets in the current situation and discussed the drafts of the ideological declaration, political program and ZSL statute. The draft bill on cooperatives and their unions was also discussed. It ought to be submitted to the Sejm before the end of this year. The meeting stressed the value to the Polish countryside and agriculture of this bill, which must guarantee to the cooperative's genuine self-management and independence.

The chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, Stefan Ignar, submitted a report on the latest session of the Central Commission for Cooperation among the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD.

FIRST FOREIGN TRADE BALANCE IN 10 YEARS ACHIEVED

LD042058 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] At the end of September our debts, calculated according to the present dollar rate, and together with our short-term debts, came to almost $24 billion. We owe $2 billion to our socialist country partners. But for the first time in 10 years we have achieved a foreign trade balance. Adam Bronikowski will now give you more details:

[Begin recording] [Bronikowski] Mr Director: [not further identified] I have to admit that I was flabbergasted by the news given by the foreign mass media that Poland managed for the first time, I think since 1971, to balance out its payments; that is, exports and imports, in the third quarter of the year. Foreign commentators hold the view that this is supposed to be the first, even though tiny, step towards climbing out of our crisis. What do you think of this?

[Director] Well, Mr Editor, the balancing out of our trade balance in the third quarter of this year -- this was not a full balancing out because the trade quarter wound up with a small debit balance -- has for the time being been of a transitional nature. This was caused more by our difficulties in obtaining fresh credits than through our conscious efforts. The current year will close with a large debit balance as regards trade turnover; that is, with imports being much greater than exports.

[Bronikowski] But this third quarter is an exception, one might say.

[Director] I would say rather an "exceptional situation." We are counting on certain credits in the fourth quarter which will ensure that the year as a whole will be one with a negative trade balance.

[Bronikowski] Nevertheless, let us return to the situation in the third quarter. Without a shadow of a doubt this was brought about as a result of this drastic restriction in our imports. This has also had a tremendously favorable effect on our economy.

[Director] Yes, indeed, of course, and in this connection I would like to draw your attention to a second aspect of the matter. For activities connected with obtaining fresh credits and with temporarily putting back the dates by which we have to pay off our commitments to be meaningful activities and for them to lead to some concrete goal, an effort from our economy, even a small one for the time being, is vital. We must strive to create sources from which we shall be in a position to pay off our debts in the future. This means that we must for the time being ensure a balancing out of our trade turnover and then we must gradually create a surplus of export returns over imports. We must remember that the only ones who can count on obtaining fresh credits and on the deferment of old commitments are those who are in a position to prove that they will be able sooner or later, over a definite period of time, to return the previously concluded commitments. It is precisely for this reason that in current planning our turnover for the coming years, which we are presenting to our creditors as proof of our credibility, we accept the assumption that in 1982 the trade balance with the West will be completely balanced out. This means that exports will be the same as imports and that in subsequent years we shall gradually achieve certain surpluses. [end recording]

[Announcer] In the foreign press, which commented on this quarterly balancing out of the trade, this fact was given much attention. There were plenty of views by the foreign press that perhaps this is a turning point in the hitherto circles of our economy.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY URGES NATIONAL AGREEMENT

LD051016 Warsaw PAP in English 0840 GMT 5 Nov 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Nov (PAP) -- "If in the course of few days additional correspondents of major news agencies are arriving in Poland and if among them is Mr Cronkite, American television's great personality who wants to make a series of reportages on our country, this can nothing but prove that the situation in Poland, at least in the opinion of foreign observers, has aggravated again. And since it is hard to imagine a situation still graver, this may mean that observers are arriving to watch the finale of the 'Polish experiment'." ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote today.

"As a matter of fact many signs indicate that it is impossible to protract any further the state of temporariness in either the socio-political or the economic sphere."

"If today, in a situation when the state as the nation's organizational structure is seriously threatened, we fail to find enough strength, patience and political wisdom to reshape and form this structure in a democratic process compatible with the constitution, and if we allow its disintegration, we will not only provide bad testimony to our political culture, but we also set the prospect for improving the national existence many years back.

"There is no reasonable alternative to the policy of social agreement. This thesis has been confirmed anew by the momentous meeting between first secretary of the PUWP CC, Premier, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the primate of Poland, Archbishop Jozef Glemp and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

"This unprecedented meeting of political, social and moral authorities may be of crucial importance to an early formation of a platform of national agreement.

"The news of this meeting is good news for everybody who genuinely desires to follow a policy of social agreement, and that means a majority of the Poles," said ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

SLAUGHTER ANIMALS PURCHASE BELOW PLANNED LEVEL

LD042136 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Nov (PAP) -- No essential change for the better in the purchase of meat has been recorded in the two days that passed since the introduction of new principles of the sale of some industrial goods, which give private farm owners priority to acquire these products in reutrn for slaughter pigs and cattle delivered to state purchasing centres.

The purhcases of slaughter animals yesterday amounted to 4,500 tonnes and were by 1,600 tonnes lower than the guaranteed meat rations. The level of purchases today was much the same. One of the reasons for this situation seems to be the fact that industrial goods in question have not reached the rural retail outlets yet.

LOCAL DECISIONS BEING MADE ON SALES PRINCIPLES

LD042234 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] As PAP reports, despite many announcements about the unification of the rationing system, local decisions on the principles of sales are still (?being issued). These are being made not only by local administrative authorities. For example, in Parczew, Biala Podlaska Voivodship, goods are being sold exclusively to inhabitants of the town and parish and to spend even a single zloty in socialized retail trade, one has to show an identity card. The trade is applying this principle on the recommendation of the Social Control Committee, without coming to an agreement with the chief administrative officer.

In Rzeszow and Walbrzych Voivodships, the regionalization of meat sales has been restored. It is being sold exclusively to permanent inhabitants or people employed in those regions. In Walbrzych Voivodship, moreover, instead of meat, one can buy, at fixed times and in selected shops, sugar, chocolate and poultry for ration coupons from previous months.

The first 2 days after the decision on the linked sales of some industrial goods and agricultural machinery in exchange for livestock for slaughter had no effect on the size of procurement. Yesterday it amounted to 4,500 tons and was therefore 1,600 tons less than emerges from the plan guaranteeing full coverage of ration book requirements. Today, too, a highersupply of livestock for slaughter was not noted. One of the causes, PAP writes, may be that industrial goods have not yet arrived in rural shops and work is continuing in the Ministry of Domestic Trade on drawing up allocation lists for the goods. The goods will get to the countryside by the end of this week at the earliest.

At the same time, more and more misunderstandings are arising over the linked sales. For instance, the Trade Information Office in Warsaw informs us, and I quote: [Words indistinct] goods for young married couples are sold out in the capital and there is not the least chance of buying anything from (?the) special list. The Central Internal Trade Enterprise [words indistinct] information, stating that the possession of a credit book authorizes one to get any article in the shops. It would be hard to (?say) who is right.

In the shops, meanwhile, they are refusing to sell. Let us hope that in the next few days the matter will be cleared up once and for all.

CEAUSESCU VISITS SATU MARE COUNTY 4 NOVEMBER

AU040935 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Summary] "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu this morning began a working visit to Satu Mare County -- an occasion to continue his dialogue with the working people and to examine how the 1981 socioeconomic targets are being implemented and how the plan for the second year of the 5-year plan is being prepared."

After a warm reception at Satu Mare airport by thousands of county residents, the party secretary general and president of the republic visited a cotton mill and equipment factory in the city of Carei. This visit is continuing at this hour.

Meeting With Party Aktiv

AU042046 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Nov (AGERPRES) -- On November 4, in the evening, the RCP secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu had a working meeting in Satu Mare with members of the Executive Bureau of the county party committee, of the county people's council and with responsible factors of the county's industry and agriculture.

The meeting was attended by Iosif Banc, Ion Coman, Lina Ciobanu and Richard Winter.

During the meeting, analysis was made of ways in which the provisions of county's industrial and agricultural development plan, and of the investment programme were being fulfilled as well as of the way in which action was being taken for the achievement of the economic objectives established for the 1981-1985 five-year plan period.

Satu Mare Mass Rally

AU041609 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1415 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at the 4 November mass rally in Satu Mare municipality on the occasion of his working visit to Satu Mare County]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends: To begin with, I would like to extend to you, all participants in this big mass rally and the inhabitants of Satu Mare Municipality and county warm revolutionary greetings and best wishes on behalf of the party Central Committee, the State Council, the government and myself personally. [applause, cheers, chants]

We are paying a working visit to Satu Mare. We visited four industrial enterprises and two agricultural units and we had an opportunity to see how the decisions of the 12th party congress are being implemented. We talked with the working people, management cadres and representatives of the working people's councils and I must say that, generally speaking, my impressions from this visit are good. The results attained by the working people in Satu Mare Municipality and county in the first year of the current 5-year plan are quite significant, despite certain shortcomings and deficiencies. These results entitle us to assert that the Satu Mare working people, regardless of nationality, have everything they need to commendably fulfill the great tasks devolving upon them from our fatherland's development program and from the new 1981-85 5-year plan, in the new stage of Socialist Romania's development onto higher peaks of progress and civilization. [applause, cheers, chants]

As I said recently at the harvest day celebrations in Braila, the working people in all fields -- industry, agriculture and other branches -- have attained important country-wide results this year and we can state that we have laid a sound foundation for future development. We are also firmly convinced that we will commendably fulfill the current 5-year plan and that Romania will make significant progress along the road toward a better, dignified and free life. [applause, cheers, chants]

From this big mass rally in Satu Mare, I would like to congratulate all working people's collectives in Satu Mare and all agricultural working people for the results attained and to wish them well in attaining ever better results and doing everything possible to conclude the first year of the 5-year plan with increasingly better achievements in all fields. [applause, cheers, chants]

Satu Mare, like other counties in our fatherland, achieved significant development in the previous 5-year plan. Important industrial enterprises have been built here. Today, Satu Mare Municipality and county have highly advanced technological enterprises capable of producing machines and equipment at world quality levels. We must do everything possible to fully capitalize on these means, to attain maximum economic efficiency, to increase labor productivity, to reduce material costs and, on this basis, to increase the net income, the national wealth and all the means required by our fatherland's continuous development, and to fulfill the program for raising the material and intellectual well-being of our people. [applause, cheers, chants]

Satu Mare County also has wonderful conditions for highly efficient agriculture. I could note today some very good results in certain units. I visited an as yet unharvested cornfield and I noted that the crop is about if not over 10,000 kg. This means that there are opportunities for Satu Mare County to successfully compete for the honor of hosting the harvest day celebrations next year. You should strive for that, comrades. [applause, cheers, chants]

We must do everything possible in agriculture to harvest important crops next year in Satu Mare County too -- in vegetable and grain production, fruit growing, industrial crops, livestock and in wine production. All the conditions exist for Satu Mare County to ensure proper supplies to its inhabitants in accordance with the measures established for all counties, that is, measures for self-supply and self-management, with a view to turning out produce for exports also. Next year, each town, commune and city must bear direct responsibility for ensuring proper supplies to the people at the levels established in the 5-year plan, since each administrative unit has the necessary land and livestock. Satu Mare today has everything required to attain this target. [applause, cheers, chants]

We are aiming for a new quality of work and life and in all fields. Proceeding from these strategic goals established by the 12th party congress, it is necessary to act firmly to better organize the entire activity in all fields, both in industry and agriculture, the basic branches of the development of the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania, and in the fields of science, culture and in all social activity. We must create all the conditions for continuously improving management in all units and fields, at the local and central levels, so that the development of our socialist society can guarantee the direct participation of the broad masses and all working people, regardless of nationality, in leading all fields of activity. The decisions adopted by the party congress, the agricultural congress and the working people's congress must be followed by all party organizations and all management collectives. All working people must firmly pledge themselves to assume responsibility for running and properly administering all units. In their capacity as owners, producers and end-users, all working people are responsible for and must act to ensure the smooth development of activities in all fields. [applause, cheers, chants]

At this mass rally in Satu Mare, I would like to again mention the fact that we should pay greater attention to improving and raising the professional and scientific-technological level of cadres, proceeding from the fact the mechanization of agriculture and other fields requires better knowledge on the part of cadres so that they can properly master the advanced technologies and extract the maximum efficiency from them, particularly since part of these new technologies had to be imported from abroad.

As a matter of fact, we are capable today of producing many advanced machines and technologies ourselves.

We must do everything possible to ensure the high quality of Romanian products, so that they can compete with the best in the world, can be the pride of our fatherland's producers and can tell everybody that the Romanian working people, masters of their destiny, are capable of mastering and producing the most advanced technology and are ready to firmly advance along the road of progress and civilization. [applause, cheers, chants]

At the same time, it is necessary to intensify the political-educational activity and to powerfully stimulate activities within the national "song to Romania" festival. We must always proceed from the fact that the molding of the new man, aware of his mission and role in society, requires both political and cultural knowledge. We must do everything possible to ensure that our people and our fatherland's youth, masters of the most advanced technology and science, can also master the revolutionary concept about the world and life. They must be motivated by the communist spirit of struggle and must act as revolutionaries in all circumstances. We must base the entire activity of molding the new man on the revolutionary materialist-dialectical and historical concept about the world and life. Only a man armed with the highest professional, technical, scientific, political and ideological knowledge will always be a good revolutionary and patriot, will serve the fatherland, party and socialism and will struggle for peace and independence. [applause, cheers, chants]

Working people of Romanian, Hungarian and other nationalities live and work together in Satu Mare. History shows that the free Dacians knew how to defend their achievements and freedom. Through the struggle of the Dacians and the entire population of these lands, the new Romanian people came into being. People of Hungarian and German nationality later settled in these lands, too. They worked, lived and struggled together. There are many instances in our history of joint struggle against oppressors, regardless of nationality, for freedom and a better life. History teaches us that, only by being fully united and working and struggling as true revolutionaires, can we ensure the progress and victory of socialism and communism. [applause, cheers, chants]

Dear comrades and friends, while giving priority to implementing the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania, thus fulfilling our obligations and responsibilities toward our people, we never forget that, in order to be able to carry out this program, to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and to advance toward communism, we need peace, peace and peace again. [applause, cheers, chants]

We also know that it is necessary to constantly strengthen international cooperation with all world peoples, irrespective of social system. We certainly give priority to developing solidarity and cooperation with all the socialist countries and certainly, within this framework, with the neighboring socialist countries. We act to ensure the strengthening of the unity, cooperation and solidarity of those countries, in belief that this is a factor of particular importance for social progress, for socialism, independence and for world peace. [cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-peace"]

We are strengthening solidarity and cooperation with the developing countries and with the nonaligned countries and with all peoples who are struggling against imperialism and colonialism and for their right to develop freely and without any outside interference. [cheers] At the same time, we are also developing relations with the developed capitalist countries and with all the states in the world, irrespective of social system. We unswervingly base our relations with all countries on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and renunciation of the use or threat of force. [cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-peace"]

Taking into consideration the complex problems of the international situation, the existing tension, the conflicts that still persist in various parts of the world, we firmly advocate the settlement of all conflicts and problems between countries by negotiations alone. It is high time to completely renounce the use of weapons and to proceed to negotiation and to understand that each people's interests and the interests of all mankind require responsible action and that everything should be done to resolve problems through negotiations.

There are no problems in the world that cannot be resolved by negotiations and we must do all we can to stop any kind of war between countries. [cheers, chants]

We are very firmly acting to achieve security and cooperation in Europe. We hope that the Madrid meeting will reach the necessary agreements to convening a conference on disarmament and trust and that the continuity of the Helsinki Conference will be ensured. Romania is prepared to host the next meeting on security, peace and cooperation in Europe and Bucharest. [cheers, chants]

We are deeply concerned over the scope the arms race has taken and over the supply of powerful weapons, including nuclear weapons, in Europe. This is a burden for all European peoples and poses the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and of a war that will destroy the thousands-year-old civilization of our continent and that will destroy the life of all nations and peoples. This is why we believe that we must do all we can to stop the arms race, to proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. [cheers]

We advocate necessary agreements regarding the nondeployment, withdrawal and reduction -- by both sides -- of medium-range missiles as a first step toward completely eliminating and eradicating them. Only by eliminating stockpiles and missiles in Europe will we achieve each nation's security. [cheers]

It is high time for all European countries to raise their voices and take united action against the medium-range missiles and against the neutron bomb; it is time for them to voice their decisive no and to see to it that the peoples' desires are taken into consideration and that medium-range nuclear missiles and that the nuclear bomb is renounced and that disarmament and primarily nuclear disarmament is achieved. [cheers]

Within this framework, we believe that it is necessary to achieve new relations of cooperation and friendship among the Balkan countries and to fulfill the desire of all peoples, namely that there should be no nuclear weapons of any kind in the Balkans. As is known, Romania has proposed this several times. We believe that the time has come to act so that the Balkans is an area without nuclear weapons. [cheers]

It is necessary to stop increases in military spending and to gradually cut them back. The sums of money thus saved should partly be used for supporting poor developing countries and partly for the development of each country to solve the many social and cultural problems in each country. We must do all we can to stop the huge expenditures that have exceeded $500 billion and which contribute to the worsening of conditions in all countries, increasing the number of unemployed every month so that in Western countries their number has reached astronomical figures. As for the prospects, the number of unemployed every month is increasing. On behalf of those who want to live in freedom and who want to work, military expenditures must be cut back so as to guarantee jobs and the development of poor countries and the achievement of a new, better and more just international economic order in which poor peoples will rank first. [cheers]

The achievement of the new economic order -- a great help for the poor, developing countries -- is a historic need, a requirement for the stability and resumption of the economic activity and for the progress of all countries, both the developing and developed countries. Peace and the new international economic order, disarmament and aid for the poor countries constitute problems that must be resolved together as a requirement for achieving a just peace and equal cooperation among all the world's nations. [cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-peace"]

It is necessary that the role of the United Nations and of other international organizations increase with a view to democratically resolving all problems. All countries and primarily small-and medium-sized countries should actively participate, on an equal footing, in resolving all problems. We must constantly proceed from the fact that any negotiations, any solutions to complex problems must have the approval of all peoples and must be in keeping with their desire for freedom, independence and peace. [cheers, chants]

Large demonstrations against the war, missiles and the neutron bomb, for disarmament and peace are taking place all over Europe. In this spirit the appeal of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] is aimed at ensuring our people's active role in the struggle waged by the European peoples for man's basic right: The right to peace, to freedom and the right to life and independence. [cheers, chants]

It is necessary for all realistic political forces, all anti-imperialist and progressive forces and all peace-loving peoples to act in greater unity and solidarity. We must do all we can to ensure equal cooperation in Europe and unity among all European people based on respect for the independence and social system in each country. However, Europe cannot be treated separately, it should not be divided into groupings. Europe must act united, must remain united to ensure its life, freedom and to ensure its peace. [cheers, chants]

I want to stress with great satisfaction the great response the SDUF peace appeal has received from all our people. This expresses and voices the firm aspirations of our entire nation and throughout the world. I want to express the conviction that all our people -- by firmly supporting our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy -- will take very determined action to implement the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of strengthening international solidarity and cooperation so as to ensure, together with all peoples, their peace, freedom, their life and right to build a free and communist future as they desire. [cheers, chants]

Dear comrades and friends, in conclusion once again I would like to express words of special appreciation for the activity carried out by the working people in Satu Mare and by the party organizations, the communists and all the other organizations which, in complete unity within the SDUF, are acting to ensure the fulfillment of the highly responsible tasks devolving on them under the current 5-year plan. I am convinced that you will do all you can, dear comrades, to hold a front-ranking place in the socialist competition during the current 5-year plan, so that the working people in Satu Mare, irrespective of nationality, will make an increasingly greater contribution to the fatherland's general development, to improving the people's general well-being, to the policy of strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty and to the policy of peace and independence. [cheers, chants]

With this conviction, I wish all of you and all working people in the Satu Mare municipality and country greater successes in all fields of activity. I wish you the best possible results and once again I want to repeat: I hope you will do all you can to achieve a front-ranking place so that harvest day can be celebrated in Satu Mare at least once during the current 5-year plan. [cheers, chants]

I wish you very good health and great happiness. [cheers]

BURTICA, EEC DELEGATION MEET IN BRUSSELS

AU042048 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Brussels, 4 Nov (AGERPRES) -- The proceedings of the Joint Romania-European Economic Community (EEC) Commission, set up under the agreement signed in July 1980, were held in Brussels on November 3 and 4.

The Romanian delegation was led by Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and the EEC delegation by Francois-Xavier Ortoli, vice-president of the EEC Executive Commission.

The two delegations exchanged views on the economic relations between Romania and the countries members of the community, particularly on the application of various technical agreements and arrangements in the industrial and agricultural domains. The two sides convenanted measures conducive to a balanced development of exchanges and economic cooperation as well as to improved structure of exchanges between Romania and the countries members of the community as a whole.

The proceedings of the joint commission passed in an atmosphere of mutual understanding.

During his stay in Brussels, Cornel Burtica had working meetings with Gaston Thorn, president of the EEC Executive Commission, and with vice-presidents and commissioners of the Common Market commission. He also had interviews with representatives of business circles in Belgium.

DINCA CONCLUDES TALKS WITH IRAQI OFFICIALS

AU031012 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Baghdad, 3 Nov (AGERPRES) -- The Romanian economic delegation headed by Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister, concluded its Iraqi visit.

During an interview the Romanian head delegate had with Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, first deputy prime minister, the sides evoked with satisfaction the relations of friendship and collaboration established between Romania and Iraq, the ascending evolution of these relations that were also given an impetus by the interviews and the agreements reached by the presidents of the two countries. The sides expressed the mutual will to dynamize and expand further the Romanian-Iraqi relations, the cooperation between the two countries in domains of mutual interest.

The interview occasioned an exchange of messages between Nicolae Ceausescu, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Saddam Husayn, the president of the Republic of Iraq.

The head of the Romanian delegation also met Hasan 'Ali, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, minister of trade, chairman for Iraq in the joint governmental commission of economic cooperation, trade and technology, as well as other Iraqi officials.

ZIMBABWE'S MUGABE TO VISIT IN NOVEMBER

AU020847 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1700 GMT 1 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Nov (AGERPRES) -- Upon the invitation of Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, and of Elena Ceausescu, Robert Mugabe, prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union -- Patriotic Front, together with Sally Mugabe will pay an official visit of friendship of Romania in mid-November 1981.

THREE OLD MINES REOPENED AFTER 30 YEARS

AU291051 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Oct 81 p 2

[Summary] "Determined to contribute to a greater extent to developing the country's energy base, the miners in the trotus valley have started an initiative worth praising: For almost one year now they have been 'digging around' old mines which had been abandoned for a long time, thus trying to reactivate those coal sources."

The result of the miners' digging, together with mining specialists, was 10,000 tons of coal extracted this year up to now in excess of what was extracted last year.

"Thus, in three old mines alone the miners discovered a natural 'resource' with enough coal deposits to permit intensive exploitation for at least 15 years. Geological research work continues."

REPORTAGE CONTINUES ON EIGHTH AWP CONGRESS

'Congress of the Lonely'

AU031345 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 81 p 2

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Eighth AWP Congress will open tomorrow in Tirana. At the same time, its organizers have announced that the congress will be held in an atmosphere of celebration of the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Albanian Communist Party whose name, according to Enver Hoxha's testimony, was changed on Stalin's proposal to the name it has today as early as its first congress in 1948. It is quite certain that at the congress in Tirana, Enver Hoxha will deliver the main report and will have the last word on everything.

The jubilee nature of the congress should provide an occasion to call attention to the main characteristics of the country's development and the path of the Albanian party. The announcement of the congress speaks about "successes" and about "the country's revolutionary transformation."

However, during the entire period from the first to the present congress, an uninterrupted process of wide and merciless settling of accounts, persecution, mistreatment, drastic suppression of freedom and physical liquidation of -- as Enver Hoxha has continued to proclaim them -- "enemies of the party, the people and socialism" has continued in Albania. At one time these enemies were -- according to the momentary needs, of course -- the "Yugoslav" revisionists, on another occasion they were the "Soviet" ones and then in recent years they were the "Chinese" revisionists or the "agents" of imperialism, but in all that, the "Yugoslav revisionists" have been and continue to be the main target of the campaign.

Victims of Arbitrariness

At one time or another, the war commanders, commissars, party officials and old revolutionaries have been dispatched to banishment in camps, to suffering and murder. Victims of Enver's arbitrariness and dictatorship included soldiers, ministers and other high state officals, scientists, economists, professors, youths, believers, peasants, office employees and state officials. In the last four decades no single social class has been spared Enver Hoxha's "fire and sword," as he himself characterizes his method of ruling.

Thus, by May 1956 Enver Hoxha had succeeded in liquidating all members of the wartime party Central Committee. Last year, it was also officially confirmed that in 3 years alone about 30,000 "bureaucrats" came under the blow of the policy that is being carried out, as Enver Hoxha says, "with the sabre in hand." On the eve of the congress, Tirana radio also once again confirmed that this process has not ended: It warned that all enemy attempts "would be destroyed one after another." If nothing else, this is an admission that, despite the fire and sword rule, the spirit of the Albanian people has not been broken even though Enver Hoxha encircled them with wire and covered the land with camps and bunkers, something that is unprecedented in the recent history of the world.

Hoxha does not shrink from calling all that "true democracy" and from advertising his "revolutionary" policy and practice as "the beacon of socialism" and an example that should be "followed by Europe." On the very eve of the congress he repeated that this Albania is the only socialist country in the world, and proclaimed all others "former" socialist countries.

Total Isolation

The mass persecutions coincided not only with the major turns in the country's foreign orientation but also with any pronounced accumulation of certain economic difficulties.

Deprived of all foreign aid and drawn into total isolation, Albania has now fallen nearly into a hopeless economic blind alley. Thus, all the greater is the need of the present Tirana leadership and especially Enver Hoxha to continue to hold their own people in isolation and to explain the internal terror with foreign threats.

That this congress will be in fact a congress of the lonely is attested among other things by the fact that it will be attended by "delegations" of some 20 so-called Marxist-Leninist parties that are virtually nonexistent both in their own countries and in the workers' movement. Their presence in Tirana is designed to create among the Albanian people the illusion of an alleged revolutionary mission of Enver's party. It is no accident that, apart from these "revolutionary" leftovers who are unable to gather even 100 followers each in their own countries, the Tirana congress is not attended by any of the parties that have any major importance in their own countries, let alone by any workers' parties in power.

Hoxha Speech Scored

AU041529 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Nov 81 p 9

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG) — In his 3-hour report read at the Eighth AWP Congress yesterday, Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, repeated all the known theses of his domestic and foreign policies.

Continuing to stand by the Stalinist concepts of building socialism in Albania, Hoxha said that the answer to the question what is socialism is found in the "rich experience" of Stalin's rule and in what is "today in Albania". At the same time he proclaimed all the socialist countries in the world as "former socialist countries" and all communist parties -- with the exception of his own -- also as "former communist parties".

In the speech which the Albanian news agency (ATA) and Tirana radio transmitted late yesterday, Enver Hoxha also confirmed that Albanian foreign policy would not change; that is, that he would continue to hold his country in total international isolation.

"Model" and "Example"

Characterizing his own report as an "objective and realistic" analysis, he grossly blamed the "imperialist-revisionist policy" of the contemporary Soviet and Yugoslav "revisionism" as well as other "contemporary revisionists" for all of Albania's internal difficulties, and in this connection devoted an entire hour to attacking Yugoslavia's entire policy since the war to this date.

Presenting a rosy picture of the internal situation and the activity of the party in the period between the two congresses, he said that the situation in the country "has never been better." Enver Hoxha supported this claim with such slogans as that Albania "reached a higher level," that the party "stands with its head high," that it has brought "happiness and new progress" to the people, and that this is the "great success of the correct policy."

According to him, "the blockade by the imperialists and social imperialists and all modern revisionists" has represented the only difficulty in the country's internal development. In this context, Hoxha spoke especially critically about the "Chinese revisionists". Although he spent many words to assure the delegates about the country's internal "stability," he demanded a "further consolidation of the internal front," and admitted that considerable time and efforts have been needed to eliminate the consequences of "the hostile activities of Beqir Balluku and his comrades" whom Hoxha politically and physically liquidated in a series of drastic mass purges.

Hoxha indirectly expressed his dissatisfaction with the results of the 15-year process of "revolutionizing" the educational and cultural system, science and other spheres of spiritual life.

Offering Albania as a model and example of the world's only socialism, on this occasion also Enver Hoxha attacked the condemnation of Stalin at the 20th CPSU Congress, and emphasized that today the "true prospects of socialism" are in fact "the rich experience" from Stalin's period and what "is found in Albania today." In this connection he failed to mention that his model was Stalin's mass purges of political opponents, and that he had continued to carry out these purges also within the preparations for this congress to maintain what he calls stability. He advocates exporting this "revolution" and practice, and condemns the Soviet, Yugoslav, Chinese and other socialisms which, as he said, are socialist only in name, as a "revisionist betrayal." As has been reported, at the same time Hoxha proclaimed all the communist parties in the world as "former communist parties" because they are not like the Albanian party.

Being aware of the fact that today the world's workers' movement does not accept the AWP policy, Enver Hoxha made an attempt to demonstrate to his own people and the world public that he enjoys the support of the so-called "new Marxist-Leininist parties". He says that they are "growing and hardening in all parts of the world." But in this connection he failed to say that what is mainly involved in this connection are the "parties" which most frequently have a score of members each and at times even have only one member, but that all of them are on Enver's payroll.

"Conditions" for Cooperation

Striving especially to create the impression of an "objective" approach to the situation in the Balkans, Enver Hoxha in fact set the conditions for developing cooperation with the Balkan countries, and avoided in this connection providing any explanation why precisely he and Albania do not participate in any form of cooperation on our peninsula and in Europe.

Claiming that in its relations with Yugoslavia, Albania has adhered to the principles of "mutual trust and respect," Enver Hoxha, however, set the conditions for cooperation between the two countries which are identical to the reactionary slogans and demands of irredentists, chauvinists and counterrevolutionaries in Kosovo and of the Albanian reactionaries and the Ustasha and other fascist elements abroad.

Obviously displeased by the complete failure of the counterrevolutionary attempt in Kosovo, the promoters of which were also inspired by the policy of Enver's party, Hoxha tried to justify that counterrevolution. And what is even more, standing at the speaker's rostrum of the Tirana congress, Hoxha called upon the counterrevolutionaries in Kosovo to continue their irredentist and chauvinist activity as well as the struggle for what he called legitimate rights. In this way he revealed Albania's involvement and active role in inciting the Kosovo events, and invested himself with the right, in the name of a false goodneighborliness, to directly and recklessly interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs.

However, Enver Hoxha says that this is not interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs but rather a so-called "indisputable right" of Albania: He explains this indisputable right with a clear demand for splitting Yugoslavia, just as the reactionaries demanded in the past and Enver demands now.

Trying at any cost to justify territorial claims against Yugoslavia, he attacked the decisions of the second session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia which, according to his statement, were adopted "without any approval and self-determination" and without consulting -- which obviously annoys him the most -- Albania as a party "directly interested in that question.

Enver considers the decisions of that historical and, for Yugoslavia, fateful and revolutionary session of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia nothing more or less than the source of a "very wrong anti-Leninist solution of the national question in Yugoslavia," appropriating for himself even the right to speak not only on behalf of the Albanians in Albania but also on behalf of all peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

CULAFIC-LED DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR VISIT TO PRC

LD041924 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1809 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG) -- A League of Communists of Yugoslavia delegation headed by Secretary of the Central Committee Presidency Dobroslav Culafic left here today for Beijing.

During its visit to China from November 5 through 10, the delegation will be hosted by vice-chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Li Xiannian. The delegation is also expected to meet with Chariman Hu Yaobang.

The inter-party talks will focus on the further promotion of cooperation and on questions related to the international communist and wrokers movement. The economic and political situations in both countries will also be discussed.

This is the second LCY delegation to visit China since President Tito's visit to that country in 1977 when the two parties reestablished relations. During the five-day visit, the LCY delegation will, beside Beijing, also tour Shanghai and Hangzhou.

SUNDIC ON LCY, CCP INTEREST IN COOPERATION

LD042052 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] An LCY delegation, headed by Dobroslav Culafic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has left Belgrade for Beijing to visit the PRC at the invitation of that country's Communist Party Central Committee. At Belgrade Airport the delegation was seen off by Aleksandar Grlickov and Vlado Janzic. Also present at the delegation departure was the PRC's ambassador in our country.

Here is tonight's topical foreign affairs commentary by Milika Sundic in connection with the LCY delegation's visit to China:

[Sundic] The visit of Dobroslav Culafic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to Beijing is of great improtance among the numerous contacts between the LCY and the CCP. First of all, it represents a confirmation of the two parties' interest in continuing to develop and promote mutual cooperation on generally known principles of equality and mutual esteem, which also contributes to the consolidation of friendship between Yugoslavia and the PRC.

The CCP is at this stage interested in everything that the LCY is doing in the field of economic stabilization and consolidation of self-management and in the work of the organizations of the League of Communists in the organizations of associated labor, at universities and elsewhere, the organizational system of the LCY, cadre policy and election mechanism in the League of Communists and in particular preparations for the 12th congress of our party.

It goes without saying that this is not a question of any form of copying or one-sided adoption of anybody else's experience and even less so is it a question of imposition. Both the LCY and CCP are equally well aware that this kind of practice has long been out of date. After all, everybody knows what is meant by the exchange of experience and by the copying and imposition of experience.

In the relations between the LCY and the CCP this question was solved when, during President Tito's visit to the PRC, the two parties decided to establish party relations. Since then nothing has happened that would run counter to the mutually accepted principles of cooperation between the LCY and the CCP.

Like many other developing countries, China too is encountering numerous economic problems in its internal development. Apart from the consolidation of democratization or, in other words, elimination of the consequences of the cultural revolution, the Chinese leadership has lately been most preoccupied by the problems of economic development and the standard of living. In view of the fact that Yugoslavia too faces similar difficulties, this is why economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and China is lagging behind political cooperation.

During the talks which Dobroslav Culafic will have with top Chinese leaders, they will undoubtedly also talk about international questions and especially about the activities of the LCY and the CCP in that field.

The particularly significant aspect of the relations between the LCY and CCP is to be found in both parties' equal interest in promoting mutual cooperation regardless of any similarities or differences between them, and that in fact is the basic aim of Dobroslav Culafic's visit to Beijing.

DJURANOVIC RECEIVES TANZANIAN MINISTER 4 NOV

LD041826 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1115 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG) -- Veselin Djuranovic, president of Yugoslavia's Federal Executive Council (government), had a talk here today with Basil Mramba, Tanzania's minister of industries.

Both sides expressed their readiness for widening economic cooperation between the two countries, particularly for a larger participation by Yugoslav economic organizations in Tanzania's development programmes.

Djuranovic and Mramba made a favorable evaluation of and expressed their satisfaction with friendly relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Tanzania both bilaterally and internationally. Especially favorably was rated their cooperation in the Nonaligned Movement.

The Yugoslav premier and the Tanzanian minister interchanged opinions on the situation in Africa and other parts of the world. They resolutely supported the struggle of liberation movements, particularly of SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization] and its struggle for a final liberation of Namibia.

The world's economic situation is very unfavorable and directs more and more the nonaligned and other developing countries to closer economic cooperation among themselves and self-reliance, they asserted.

PRC DELEGATION VISITS SARAJEVO ENTERPRISE

AU031459 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Oct 81 p 7

[Text] Yesterday a delegation of the PRC State General Directorate of Pharmaceutical Industry, visiting our country at the invitation of the Chamber of Economy of Yugoslavia, visited the Bosnalijek composite organization of associated labor.

JOINT INDIAN OCEAN MANEUVERS BEGIN NEXT WEEK

LD041448 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1309 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Nairobi, 4 Nov (TANJUG) -- The joint maneouvres of U.S., Egyptian, Sudanese, Somalian and Oman infantry, airforce and naval units will begin next week in the western part of the Indian Ocean.

The objective of the maneouvres, as announced, is to contribute to a better coordination of operations of the armed forces of the participating countries. It is claimed that strategic B-52 bombers and AWACS, the latest in surveillance planes, will participate in the maneouvres which are to last until mid-December.

The participation of Somalian forces in the maneouvres is a novelty. Last summer, the U.S. and Somalia signed an agreement on the use of military bases in Berbera, and Mogadishu but there has been opposition in the U.S. to U.S. arms deliveries to Siad Barre's regime.

The participation of Somalian units in the maneouvres indicates that misunderstandings have been ironed out and that the U.S. will deliver arms to Somalia in return for the use of the bases on Somalian territory.

TRADE WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES DISCUSSED

AU040917 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 81 p 2

[N.D. article: "Economic Relations with Developing Countries: Universal Interest in Expanding Cooperation"]

[Summary] A joint session of the Committee for Foreign Policy and the Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries of the SFRY Assembly Chamber discussed the results achieved in economic cooperation with developing countries yesterday.

The session noted that in the 1976-1980 period the nominal value of commodity exchange with the developing countries increased from $1.88 billion to over $4 billion. In that period, the average increase of our exports to those countries totaled 18 percent and our imports 25 percent. New products were exported to the developing countries: various kinds of vehicles, equipment for production and transfer of electrical power, tractors and farm machinery, products of the electronic and timber processing industry and food products.

Nonetheless, a trade deficit, which now totals $1 billion, has been a constant feature of our commodity trade with the developing countries. The basic reason for this deficit is the increase in the price of oil, which accounted for 56 percent of all our imports from the developing countries last year.

It is expected that the planned efforts of $1.9 billion -- exports of ships worth $140 million and new deliveries of goods to Iraq, Libya, Algeria and India -- will be realized by the end of the year. However, instead of the planned value of $3.1 billion, the value of imports will be some $2.7 billion. Until the end of the year it is necessary to import 5.6 million tons of oil and important raw materials -- nonferrous metals, iron ore, natural phosphates, fish meal, coffee, cocoa and citrus and tropical fruit.

Various weaknesses in our commodity trade with the developing countries were also mentioned at yesterday's session, such as high prices, nonadherence to the contracted time schedules and lack of service network and spare parts for new products.

At the same time, increasingly greater contracts for constructing capital projects in the developing countries were stressed. Two thirds of all Yugoslav construction of capital projects abroad is in some 30 developing countries. The value of this work will total $1.1 billion by the end of the year. Significant new contracts for construction of capital projects have been concluded: an aluminum complex in Libya valued at about $1 billion, hydroelectric power plants in Iraq worth $572 million, three dams in Algeria and so forth.

CASTRO CONGRATULATES DRAGOSAVAC ON ELECTION

AU031504 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Oct 81 p 7

[Text] Belgrade -- In connection with his election as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Dr Dusan Dragosavac has received a congratulatory message from Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, conveying to him the best wishes for successfully performing his new duties and expressing the readiness of the Communist Party of Cuba for further developing friendly relations with the LCY.

KRAIGHER CONGRATULATES ALGERIAN PRESIDENT

AU031501 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 81 p 2

[Text] On the anniversary of the Algerian revolution, Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency sent a telegram to Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, expressing cordial congratulations and wishes for further successes by the friendly Algerian people in building the country.

The telegram expresses the conviction that the very fruitful and successful bilateral Yugoslav-Algerian relations and cooperation will develop even more comprehensively in the future. It is pointed out that the two countries, together with other nonaligned countries, will continue to invest efforts for a consistent realization of the nonaligned policy.

LCY COMMISSION DISCUSSES ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES

LD042348 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Nov (TANJUG) -- No normative solution, however good, will resolve problems by itself and yet it is an irrefutable fact that the effectiveness of the League of Communists in its work and in the realization of the vanguard role of the party in society depends to a great extent on how it is organized. It has so far been noted on numerous occasions that one of the shortcomings in the work of the League of Communists is that it has too many places in which policies are adopted and too few which should realize these policies.

This was one of the reasons why at its session today, chaired by Branko Mikulic, the LCY Central Committee's Commission for the Organizational and Statutory Questions of the LCY focused its main attention on the relations between the LCY forums and its political executive organs. In essence the gist of the whole discussion was that democratism should continue to be consolidated in the League of Communists, but that there should also be greater stress on responsibility. Most of what was said concerned, naturally, the relations between the LCY Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Central Committee's political executive organ, and the relations between the LCY Central Committee and the central and provincial committees.

The united assessment was that the current situation must be corrected, so that the LCY Central Committee will have a greater possibility to supervise the work of the Presidium. It was said that we must bear in mind that we no longer have a president of the LCY who manages the wrok of the Central Committee and that the LCY Central Committee Presidium today has the function of organizing sessions of the Central Committee, as well as the task of implementing its decisions. As a proposal for consideration, the question of the possible reduction of the number of Presidium members in order for it to be more operative and effective in its work, was also raised today.

The role of the political and executive organs undoubtedly depends also on the method of their election.

In statutory solutions up to now it was envisaged that members of the political-executive organs of the League of Communists in the muncipalities would be elected by secret vote, while in the republics and provinces, as well as in the LCY, it would be done by public vote. The members of the commission consider that solutions must be unified and that a method of electing should be opted for on the basis of public dicussion.

In the first discussions on the occasion of preparations for the 12th LCY Congress, the views that the election of an LCY Central Committee president does not need to be provided for in a new statute were dominant. The LCY Central Committee Presidium also agreed with this. However, today it was proposed that this issue should be raised again at sessions of the LCY Central Committee and of the Presidium. The majority of those taking part in the discussion consider that this office will define more clearly the importance of the LCY Central Committee and the relationship between the Presidium and the LCY Central Committee in order also to contribute to "supervision" of the work of the Presidium by the LCY Central Committee. Naturally, an LCY Central Committee president would be elected by the LCY Central Committee from the LCY Central Committee Presidium and he would, at the same time, also preside over Presidium sessions.

There was also quite a lot of discussion today about the election of LCY Central Committee members from republican and provincial LCY organizations. According to statutory solutions up to now, members of the LCY Central Committee have been elected at republican congresses and provincial conferences, and the LCY congress in practice endorses the members who have already been elected.

Views were expressed today that this endorsement should, as much as possible, be like an election [as received] so that someone could actually happen not to be elected. So far this possibility has on the whole not existed. LCY Congress delegates have expressed themselves by acclamation in favor of the whole list of proposed candidates.

Comrade Tito's repeatedly mentioned initiative that more candidates should be put forward for all and even the most important offices in society was again mentioned during the discussion today. It was noted that it cannot be applied absolutely, but that it is necessary to begin to apply it more consistently in practice. This approach is primarily based on the truth that this too is one of the form of democratization of elections and that it is a way of overcoming the quite widespread practice of keeping cadres policy in the hands of narrow closed circles. In fact, it was stated, this is a battle for quality, which we have lately "mislaid somewhere". Due attention has to be paid to this question, it was noted, regardless of whether it be regulated by statute or by resolution.

On the basis of a very exhaustive and concrete discussion which lasted several hours and during which numerous interesting questions were raised, it was decided to prepare a summary to be submitted to the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LCY Central Committee for discussion. Naturally, the final solutions and, most likely, fresh proposals too will be heard during the public discussion.

SIROKA DISCUSSES NATIONALISM AT SWAPY CONFERENCE

LD310654 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1044 GMT 30 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Oct (TANJUG) -- Some views in the socialist alliance must be clarified because for a long time there have been elements which have been imposing on this country, both from within and without, some kind of recognition of hostile activity, said Kolj Siroka at a session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium which discussed this organization's activity on the realization of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

This activity sometimes seems harmless and naive, but unless it is stopped, it becomes the basis of introducing defeatism, and in some environments it even sows fear among working people. What then happens to their fate, their rights to be equal in their rights to be equal in their own country and to live in places which suit them best? When it is a question of these matters, we need to be careful, but also consistent and firm.

In individual environments, Siroka added, one notes an attitude of capitulation on the part of the leadership, and we do not do enough to oppose such phenomena which are counter to socialist self-management. The League of Communists has warned that there are attempts to restore old relations, and it has also pointed to other dangers which can lead to its own degeneration and the bureaucratization of the society which we are building.

Recalling that during the war it happened that if a commander demonstrated a lack of capability in certain situations he became a groom, Siroka added that in this sense we should also act in this way now; that is, we should replace those who are incapable. Experience demonstrates that we must defend the revolution in this way, not forgetting the well-known rule that it defends itself primarily by its own development, while waging a struggle against its own bureaucratization.

Siroka then emphasized that there are also attempts at imposing views about some kind of immunity, that is, that hostile activity can take place without calling anyone to task for this. As an example of such ideas, or vacillation, Siroka quoted the attitude of Djilas who freely makes hostile statements to the foreign press. Well, Siroka said, if it is thought that he should not be dragged off to jail because he is old and sick, this society should put an end to it. He could be deprived of the right to make hostile statements to anyone in the world, he and others like him.

It should be emphasized, Siroka went on, that when it is a question of strengthening all-people's defense and social self-protection, nationalism exists as well as bureaucratization, and this is manifested ideologically in a resotration. It is now seen clearly, and I believe that this will also be the case in future, that nationalism is ready to enter into an alliance with the devil himself if that helps to bring into question and destroy our community of equal nations and nationalities. Judging by individual statements it may be concluded that some nations and nationalities are immune to this phenomenon and that nationalism is characteristic only of others, or of everyone except oneself, and such people say that they themselves overcame this phenomenon during the war. This is not true and whoever represents and defends such positions is opening up paths for nationalism.

Emphasizing that, for example, clerico-nationalism is prepared for an alliance with any church in the world against Yugoslavia, its independence and self-management, Siroka demanded that these phenomena be discussed clearly and precisely. This must be clear to every single person, including the people who are in the leadership. Whoever is not able to see these dangers should remove himself, regardless of his stature. There can be no greater value than the values and interests of our people.

COMMISSIONS DISCUSS THE ECONOMY IN WAR CONDITIONS

LD031846 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 3 Nov 81

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Nov (TANJUG) -- Without consistent and accelerated implementation of the stabilization policy and without resolving the basic difficulties of our economy, successful training of the economy for operation in war and emergency conditions cannot be expected. These are two inseparable things which must be resolved much more speedily and consistently than up to now, though the results achieved so far cannot be given an unfavorable assessment either.

This was stressed at today's joint session of the commissions for all-people's defense and social self-protection, of the Federal Economic Chamber, of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and of the Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. The session discussed what has been done so far and what improvements should be made so that the economy can carry out more successfully its part of the task under war and emergency conditions.

It was noted that in implementing Tito's idea that one should prepare oneself for war as if it will break out tomorrow and work as if there will never be a war, matters are going least well with regard to planning. Under the conditions of a disunited market, fragmentation of production, isolationism within regional borders and within basic organizations of associated labor, global plans for the entire community are still few and far between.

There are examples, as stressed, of some forecasts compiled so far being far removed from reality and not based on our material conditions. Thus, some documents state that under war conditions work will proceed with raw materials, materials and even cadres, of which there is a shortage even now. Such a lack of precision in planning, in the view of several participants in today's talks, can cause considerable unpleasantness for us precisely when we least expect it.

This time too many weaknesses in the process of self-managing agreement-reaching were pointed out. Apart from the slow progress in adopting such documents it has also been noticed that some of the already signed documents of this kind are not being implemented and that nobody is responsible for this. Therefore, the need was pointed out for the signatories of such documents to behave much more conscientiously in future because what is at stake are very delicate and vital issues of our country's defense and of the economy's functioning under emergency conditions.

Some of the current actions of chambers of economy, the League of Communists and trade union organizations aim at achieving unified agreements for the whole of the country between various industries and activities to ensure the most successful and independent work of organizations of associated labor under such conditions. Particular attention, as pointed out, should be paid to raw materials, energy and food. And, precisely in this field there are serious difficulties which we face also now. Under war conditions artisan crafts could make a great contribution and this sector too should, therefore, be approached with a greater degree of seriousness than up to now.

Of the large number of proposals about the way this sphere should be improved there is also the question of informing associated labor and society of these issues. The view was expressed that such and similar issues should be discussed more freely and some practically everyday issues should not be shrouded in great secrecy. The country's defense and the work of the economy in war conditions and in emergency, as concluded, should and must be a task of the whole of society and not merely the business of specialized services and organs.

KOSOVO LOCAL MEETING VIEWS NEGATIVE SITUATION

AU050815 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] A session of the Communal Conference of the League of Communists of Kosovska Mitrovica has noted that production capacities and work experiences are greater, organization is better but, on the other hand, results are unfavorable.

Petar Kostic, secretary of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo, who participated in the work of this session, stressed that production is insufficient, not only in the giant collectives, such as the Trepca collective and the Elektroprivreda [the electric power production and distribution] of Kosovo, but also in a number of other work organizations. For this reason income is insufficient.

According to Kostic, the way out of the situation cannot be sought in obtaining funds, as he put it, to tide enterprises over in order to survive, although this too will have to be done, but rather in greater production and in creating greater income.

Stressing that great forces exist in all circles of the province, Kostic expressed the view that these forces are insufficiently prepared and directed. Specifically, there is talk about opportunism, liberalism and other negative phenomena, but this is usually only noted, and then more as an expression of feeling and not the readiness to detect and to name the proponents of these phenomena.

Consequently, since we fail to recognize the faces behind these phenomena, the effect is simply the opposite of what it should be. And yet these faces are so visible and clear that we can no longer superficially take note of them, but rather we must take the most energetic measures possible to remove such people from our ranks. So much time has been lost, Petar Kostic said, that we can no longer waste any more time for mere talks with the proponents of such behavior. We must remove such people, since otherwise there can be no progress. If we continue to make more or less the same statements it means that we are inconsistent, incapable and not ready for real activity, Kostic said at the meeting of the Communal Conference of the League of Communists of Kosovska Mitrovica.

KOSOVO POST WAR PROGRESS IN EDUCATION NOTED

LD041130 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0909 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Pristina, 4 Nov (TANJUG) -- Exceptionally great progress has been materialized in education, culture, public health care and living standards in the Province of Kosovo, southern Yugoslavia, in the post World War Two period.

Today, Kosovo has 450,000 pupils and students or more than its overall population was against the census of 1921. Almost every third of its 1,580,000 inhabitants now goes to some school.

In 1945, in the year when its first primer in Albania was published, there were 200 teachers teaching in the Albanian language. Today, Kosovo has as many doctors of sciences.

Only a quarter of the century since Kosovo's first Albanian primer was printed, the province got its university which is now attended by 28,000 full-time and 14,500 part-time students of whom a majority is made up of Albanians.

For instance, Kosovo had only 30 physicians in 1945, and has about 900 now. Besides, 180 dentists and about 70 pharmacists work in the province at present.

Some 1,500 kilometers of hard-surfaced roads have been build in Kosovo in socialist self-management Yugoslavia and its electrical grid has reached even the most far-away villages in Kosovo.

Only last year, some 6,900 dwelling units socially or privately owned were built in the province. Thus, Kosovo's housing fund went up five times in the past twenty years.

Kosovo's economy and social activities employ some 175,000 workers. Some 39,000 people got their jobs in the past five-year period.

However, despite Kosovo's employment growth rate is the highest in Yugoslavia, the province still faces a large problem of creating jobs enough in view of its high population growth rate thought to be the highest in Europe.

To fill this gap, priority in Kosovo's 1981-85 economic development plan goes to its processing industry so as to create jobs for its surplus manpower. This does not mean, however, that Kosovo is going to neglect the building of its energy supplies and basic industry for which excellent conditions are to be found in the province.

SLOVENE LC CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS SESSION

LD042034 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] The Slovene League of Communist Central Committee held its 11th session today. It considered tasks connected with the socioeconomic development of agriculture and forestry. Later, Central Committee members heard a report submitted by their Presidium on the preparations for the Ninth Congress of the Slovene League of Communists and the 12th Congress of the LCY.

The Slovene economy's basic aim is to be able, by the end of the current medium-term period, to supply from its own resources 85 percent of the food consumed in the republic. This is not an easy task, but it is attainable. The purpose of this aim is stabilization, which presupposes intensification of highly productive agricultural production and its pooling with the processors and trade.

However, as was stressed at today's session, progress is not easy, not without problems and not without distorted views on agricultural policy. There was incessant emphasis on the claim that there was no concept yet which was adapted to the social and economic conditions in Slovenia, and the question of the private hectare maximum was being repeated.

The Slovene League of Communists Central Committee adopted the view that it was necessary to consolidate self-managing production relations in which farmers could enjoy economic and social security.

The session considered a report on the preparations for the Ninth Congress of the Slovene League of Communists. According to some views expressed, the present system of organization of the league should not be changed, but the forms and methods of its work should be changed, and its responsible influence in the political system should be intensified.

SLOVENE PARTY SECRETARY VIEWS RESPONSIBILITY

AU040943 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 81 p 4

[Pjevic report on speech by Franc Setinc, secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia, at a ceremony marking the 20th anniversary of the Ljubljana University faculty for political and social sciences and journalism, in Ljubljana on 22 October[

[Excerpts] Franc Setinc devoted special attention to the problem of "blurred responsibility." It is very harmful, and it can even be fateful, he stressed, if in certain circles we are satisfied with an apparent functioning of the self-managing structure behind which arbitrariness, monopoly and privileges are hidden.

Responsibility is the most stable foundation upon which our society's political and economic stability rests.

It is on this point and only this point that the process of democratization, understood as the affirmation of the individual's freedom, and the development of socialist self-management, understood as the affirmation of the freedom of all, meet. Man must be free to be responsible, Comrade Tito used to say. Democratic decisionmaking is the condition of responsibility. The problem of responsibility must be constantly on the agenda. We must immediately point out what is not in order and what should be corrected.

Horizontal Rotation

With a democratization of cadre policy we must radically change many things in our daily practice. Nowhere is it written that a bad minister could not be, for instance, a good director of a work organization in which the level of responsibility is essentially smaller, that is, different than in the Executive Council. It is also a great question as to whether every director who did not pass the test in his work organization should obtain a job, for instance, in an economic chamber or in an association whose organ, as a rule, should be composed of capable, tested experts and organizers. Briefly, we are implementing too literally the slogan that the revolution must now swallow its children. People cannot understand that exactly every minister of the federal government can with a light conscience persist in his post to the end of his term of office, despite the criticism and arguments heard in the assembly. Is this an indirect admission in fact that in our country we treat responsibility much too much as an abstract category, or is it a case where our cadre policy takes what is available and due to the gaps that appear we cannot find people capable of carrying out the most important public posts more successfully and in a more responsible manner? This applies to a greater extent to certain communes in which the same circle of people have been rotating horizontally for a long time and this, naturally, is not good, Setinc said. [passage indistinct]

In discussing the problem of responsibility, we must overcome the statist awareness about an obedient mass and the technocratic idea about the discipline of a hired worker production army. In both cases responsibility is understood as "responsibility upward," and not as a self-managing responsibility of all people to their own delegate grassroots, to the working people and citizens in general; that is, responsibility to people who are equal to themselves, and in no case a responsibility "upward" as some people understand this. I agree with the thesis that it is most irresponsible if we avoid the public nature of work, because then the people have the feeling that everything has been decided in advance. This also is the substance of the problem of blurred responsibility, because in those circles in which decisions are reached in a democratic way and through public verification there is much less opportunity for abuses and arbitrariness.

SIROVICA SABOLOVIC RECALLED FROM SAWP BODIES

AU031221 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 81 p 3

[Z. Serences and B. Gulan report]

[Text] At their sessions today, delegates of the Vojvodina Provincial SAWP Conference recalled Antal Sirovica from the Presidium of the Vojvodina Provincial SAWP Conference, because of violations against the image of an LCY member, following a proposal by the Subotica Communal SAWP Conference and at Sirovica's own request.

Following another proposal by the Subotica Communal SAWP Conference, Milan Sabolovic was relieved from his position as delegate of the federal SWAPY conference because of his disregard for self-management in some of his individual actions, lack of self-criticism in his attitudes and violations against his authorizations as a member of a collective political executive organ.

CROATIAN LC TO RESUME MEETING 5 NOVEMBER

LD042232 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1835 GMT 4 Nov 81

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Nov (TANJUG) The Croatian League of Communists Central Committee, which is discussing the topical ideopolitical problems and the tasks faced by the Croatian League of Communists in connection with socioeconomic relations, ended the first day of its work at approximately 1900 today and will resume tomorrow morning. After Central Committee President Milka Planinc's introductory report 20 members of the Central Committee took part in the discussion.

Their basic assessment is that the current socioeconomic and political situation makes it necessary to chart clearly a basic course of activity and on that basis consolidate the ideological and action unity of the League of Communists. Speakers in the discussion stressed that this basic course should be the course of the further development of self-management on the basis provided by associated labor and the decisive role of worker producers, and that this is the direction in which we should search for the further practical solutions and replies to the problems currently facing society. This is also the basis for differentiation with all those tendencies which stem from the opposing ideological positions and which are judged to be increasing to a certain extent.

BRIEFS

COMMODITY TRADE WITH USSR -- Belgrade, 30 October (TANJUG) -- Commodity trade between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union this year will reach about $6.4 billion, a spokesman for the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy's section for the promotion of economic relations with the USSR stated. In the period until October 25 the trade had reached $5.3 billion, of which $2.76 billion were Yugoslav commodity exports to the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav-Soviet commodity trade next year is to reach $7.2 billion, of which Yugoslav parts would account for $3.7 billion. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1625 GMT 30 Oct 81 LD]

KRAIGHER RECEIVES NEW AMBASSADOR -- Belgrade, 29 Oct (TANJUG) -- Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, has received Radivoje Petkovic, newly appointed SFRY ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in the Republic of Ghana, hitherto head of administration in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, before the latter's departure to take up his new post. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0853 GMT 29 Oct 81 LD]

ENVOY TO MONGOLIA -- Belgrade, 28 Oct (TANJUG) -- The SFRY Presidency has issued a decree appointing Radovan Smiljanic, hitherto minister plenipotentiary in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFRY to the Mongolian People's Republic. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1447 GMT 28 Oct 81 LD]

NEW PRESIDENT OF VOJVODINA SAWP -- Novi Sad, 30 Oct (TANJUG) -- Ladislav Varga, a member of the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium, was today elected to the post of president of the Presidium with a 1-year mandate. Varga has previously held many responsible positions, including those of a delegate to the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber and the SFRY's ambassador to the Republic of Colombia. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 30 Oct 81 LD]